

JAN 11 1939

# MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE

WINTER NUMBER

1939



VOL. 23

No. 1

Published Quarterly by  
**The MICHIGAN HISTORICAL  
COMMISSION, Lansing, Michigan**

## MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION

A STATE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND ARCHIVES

ORGANIZED MAY 28, 1913

### MEMBERS

Frank D. Fitzgerald, Governor of Michigan  
Most Rev. Wm. F. Murphy, S.T.D., Saginaw, *President*  
R. Clyde Ford, Ph.D., Ypsilanti, *Vice President*  
Emanuel M. Clark, LL.D., Big Rapids  
Lew Allen Chase, M.A., Marquette  
Charles A. Sink, LL.D., Ann Arbor  
Charles A. Weissert, Kalamazoo

### EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

George N. Fuller, Ph.D., *Secretary*  
Percy H. Andrus, *Assistant Secretary*  
Henry A. Perry, *Field Manager*

## MICHIGAN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

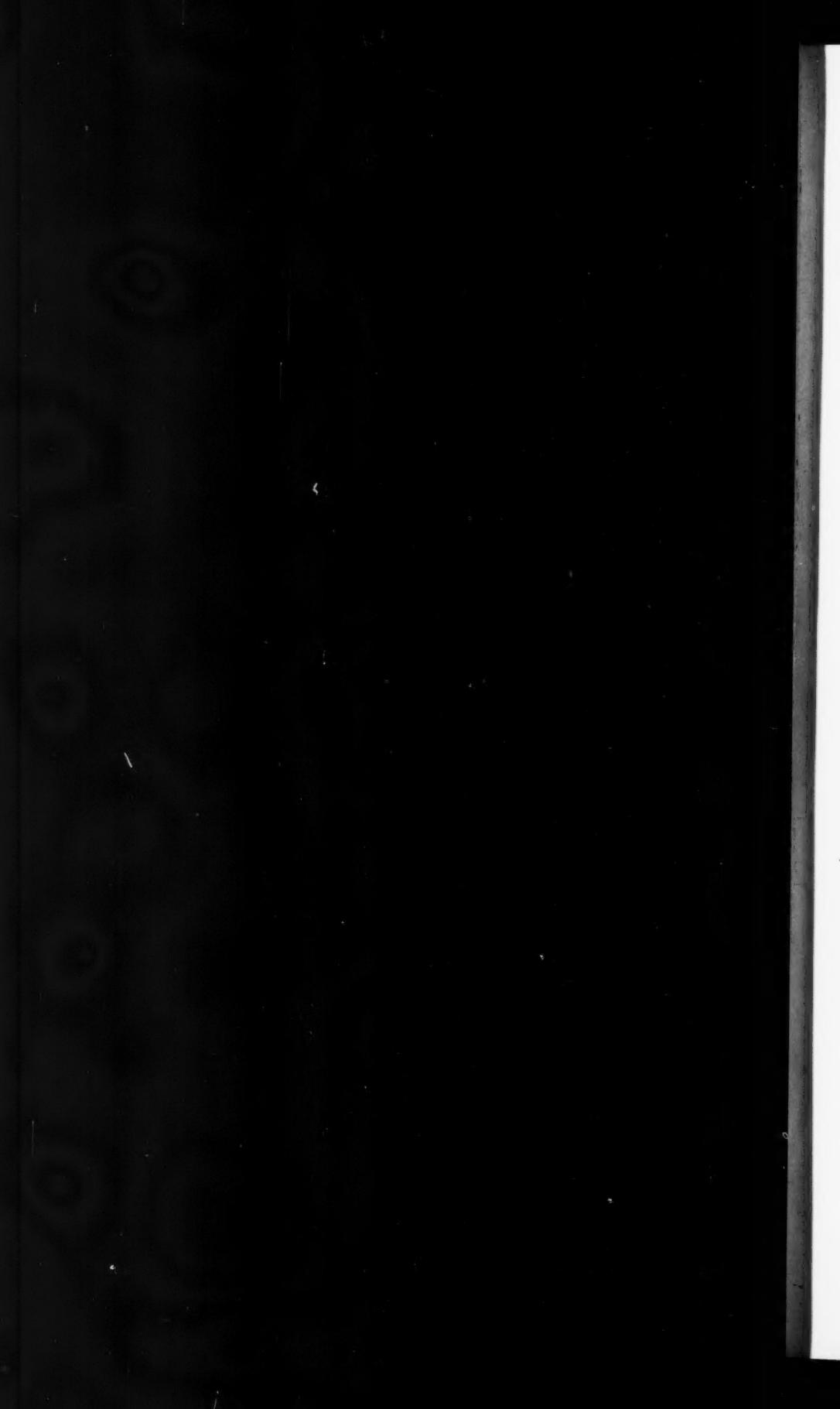
Founded in 1874; successor to the Historical Society of Michigan founded in 1828 by Lewis Cass and others

### TRUSTEES AND OFFICERS

Edward D. Dimment, Litt. D., Holland, *President*  
R. Clyde Ford, Ph.D., Ypsilanti, *Vice President*  
Arnold Mulder, M. A., Kalamazoo  
Claude S. Larzelere, M. A., Mt. Pleasant  
Lew Allen Chase, M. A., Marquette  
Charles A. Weissert, Kalamazoo  
Orla B. Taylor, LL.D., Detroit  
Carl E. Pray, M. A., Ypsilanti  
Edward H. Ryder, Ph.D., East Lansing  
Smith Burnham, M. A., Kalamazoo  
Ransom E. Olds, *Treasurer*  
Geo. N. Fuller, *Secretary ex officio*

(89)





# MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE

Vol. XXIII, Winter, 1939

George N. Fuller, *Editor*



Published Quarterly by the  
MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION  
LANSING

Entered as second-class matter February 23, 1923, at the postoffice at  
Lansing, Michigan, under Act of August 24, 1912.

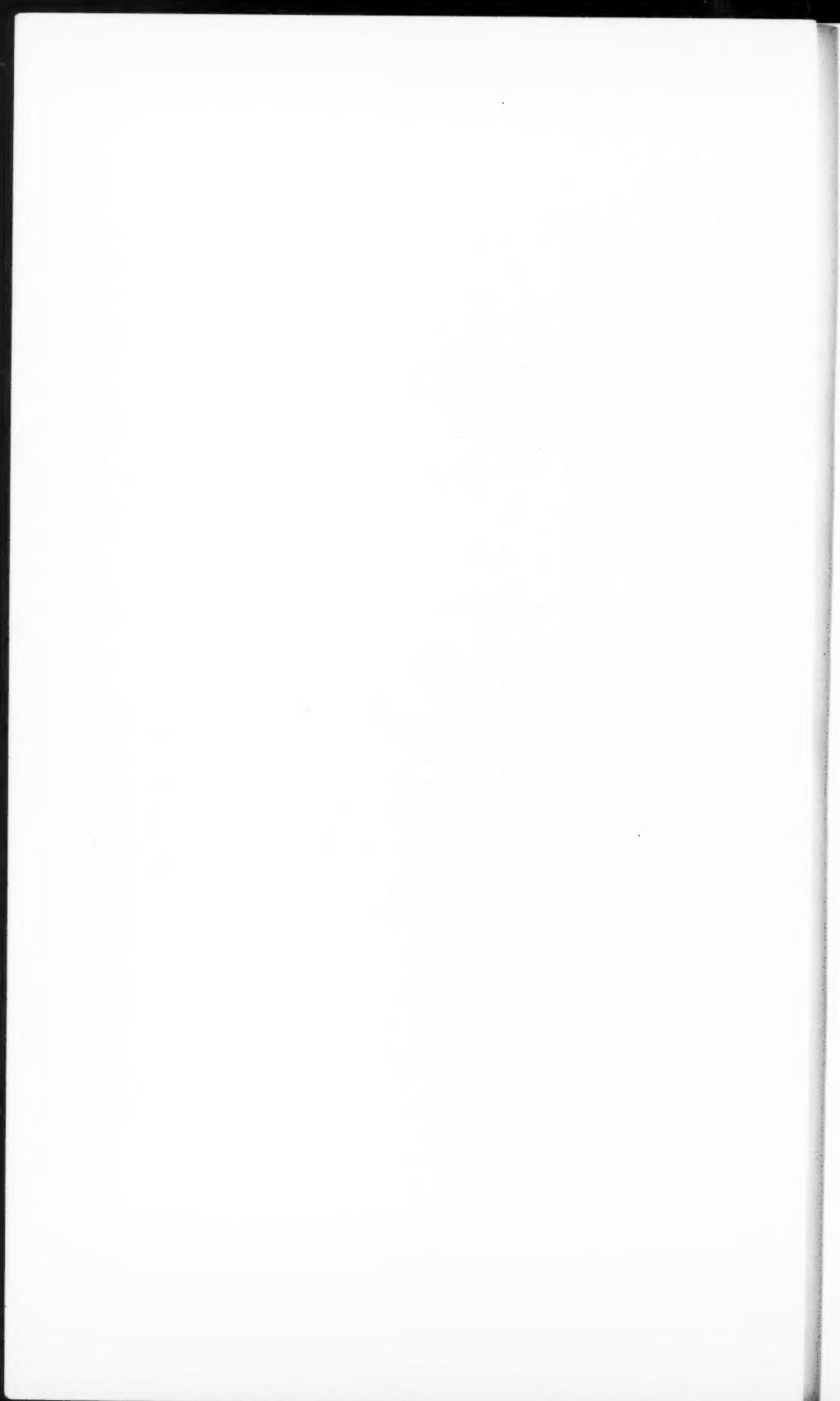


A complete index of the *Michigan History Magazine* is published annually and furnished free on request. Contents of previous issues and numerous cross references to allied material can be found by consulting the *International Index to Periodicals* in the nearest Library.

97.  
Mich. Historical Comm.

## CONTENTS

	Page
FEODOR PROTAR: THE SAINT OF BEAVER ISLAND—PAUL KERSCH .....	5
THE AMERICAN LEGION—EMIL L. CARLSON .....	15
ON THE TRAIL OF A VISION—WM. L. CASE .....	23
WHEN DETROIT WAS FRENCH—WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL .....	37
THE ROMANCE OF A RAILWAY—ARTHUR S. HILL .....	53
JEWS IN MICHIGAN—LEO M. FRANKLIN .....	77
THE GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION OF MICHIGAN, 1760-1787—NELSON VANCE RUSSELL .....	93
HISTORICAL NOTES .....	105
AMONG THE BOOKS .....	119



# MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE

---

Vol. XXIII

WINTER NUMBER

1939

---

FEODOR PROTAR

THE SAINT OF BEAVER ISLAND

BY DR. PAUL KERSCH

ROCK ISLAND, ILLINOIS

FEODOR PROTAR first came to Beaver Island in 1887 as an involuntary visitor. At the time his home was in Rock Island, Ill., where he published a paper.

He had been in the habit of spending his summer vacations in the northern woods. That summer he took passage on a freighter on its leisurely jaunt along the north shore of Lake Michigan between Green Bay, Wis., and Mackinac Island. A desperate storm in the treacherous waters out of Manistique forced the skipper to seek the shelter on the land-locked harbor of St. James on Beaver Island, Mich., then the county seat of Manitou County, embracing all of the islands of the Beaver group. The county had about a thousand inhabitants at that time, among them many Indians. St. James was a little fishing village of some hundred souls and had in its physical aspects changed but little since the founding Mormons had been driven from the island a generation back. The freighter reached St. James safely at early dawn.

Protar, in his first letter from his newly discovered paradise described Beaver Island as "the breeding place of whitefish and of Gallaghers, of peace and of contentment." It was love at first sight with Protar. Thenceforth Beaver Island monopolized all of his summer vacationings. He was enamored of its

undefiled natural charms, its drowsy lakes, its virgin forests, its glistening dunes, its peace and remoteness and he was delighted with its unspoiled, simple, quaint and unperturbed Irish inhabitants. They took to their cultured, courteous and sympathetic visitor as readily and easily as he did to them. The swarming little Gallaghers in particular became his sworn pals.

Protar's quest for a haven came to an end. Here was not only peace and charm but also some worthwhile work to be done. The Island's really needed him. For one thing they hadn't a physician within thirty miles. He could brush up on his medicine and supply a vital need.

There was no telephonic connection between the Beavers and the mainland then as there is now; nor daily or even weekly boat service to summon medical aid quickly when an emergency arose, and many a winter month found the Islands completely cut off from the outside world.

Thus Protar, past the age of fifty, threw himself into the study of medicine with the same quick grasp and thoroughness which had made him a noted writer and publisher, a famed stage manager and classic actor, and accomplished musician and civil engineer. He had never ceased to be a student since graduating from the Universities of Dorpat and Dresden in the early sixties. Although he had had some medical training, he had never reached out for a degree. Always resenting being called "doctor" or being alluded to as a doctor, he nevertheless became in time a very skillful and resourceful one.

Feodor Protar (the name he assumed when he acquired American citizenship) was the scion of the old Russian nobility deriving from a stranded Crusader Knight of Norman origin who founded a home in the Baltic region. Protar was born, raised and privately tutored on the old family estate in central Russia. As a young man he fell under the spell of Count Leo Tolstoy's liberalism. His magnetic personality, his handsome and imposing physique, his superb voice and eloquence, combined with a flaming ardor made him a dangerous proselyter



TO ONE WHO HAS SO MUCH TO DO  
**THEODORE PROTAS**  
WHO NEVER FAILED US  
IN IMPERISHABLE GRATITUDE AND ADOPTION  
THE PEOPLE OF BEAVER ISLAND



for liberal reforms. With his influential family's connivance, no doubt, he was permitted to make his escape before reaching Siberia, whereto he had been exiled, with the pledge of exiling himself permanently to some foreign part. He chose Dresden, Saxony, where he had received his higher education some years before. He never set foot on Russian soil again.

When in the early seventies he lost his young bride, he welcomed the offer of accompanying the famous Bohemian tragedienne, Fanny Janauschek on her first American tour as her stage manager and leading man.

"Thomas Jefferson and his declaration of Independence had started me on the way to the States spiritually long ago," he wrote home shortly after arriving here, "and the first long, deep breath of American democracy has now enslaved me completely."

Such was the European background and such the reaction of the man to his adopted country, who was destined to become the Saint of Beaver Island.

The social, political and stimulating life of America appealed to Protar immensely. Despite the acclaim, flattery and lionizing he had been subjected to off and on the stage, in the Old as well as in the New World, his innate purity of character and simplicity of heart had bravely withstood the strain, as did his lofty idealism, and his faith in the masses. He continued to make the humblest of them feel at home and at ease with his kindly humor, his sociability and his warm, sympathetic nature. Himself a tireless worker, he was an exacting task master with little patience with irresponsibility and idleness in others.

Thus those knowing Protar intimately were not at all surprised at his retreating to a remote and isolated island nor at his finding there among its simple inhabitants lasting contentment. Self-sacrifice was Protar's ruling passion, and of him it could truly be said that of himself he thought last, if indeed at all. It was natural, too, that Beaver Island was to become the annual Mecca of his innumerable mainland friends

after he settled there permanently in the summer of 1893, following a long and admiring visit to the fairyland of the Columbian Exposition at Chicago. He never set foot on the mainland again thereafter.

Already he had contracted for a large area of land on the Island bordering Lake Michigan, most of it wild and in virgin forest. Once upon a time a small tract of it had been under cultivation, and thereon still survived a bare loghouse dating from the Mormon days. This had been made habitable again to house a farmer and his family who were to help Protar in the extensive farming operations he had planned to engage in.

For his own use Protar had planned the construction of a new, more spacious log house, closer to the Lake. The site had been selected long ago. The house was to face an unobstructed stretch of peaceful pasture land to the east. To the west, north and south it was surrounded by a dense forest of towering trees. The site was high above the level of Lake Michigan and within the constant sound of the wash of its troubled waters surging against a rocky shore. Many a winter evening had Protar mulled lovingly and long over the plans he had drawn for his new home. Now at last all was ready. The foundation stones were in place. Logs and lumber leveled and cut were about to be put in their place by a crew of husky Island boys, when something happened.

Word had reached Protar about then that the home of an old widow a mile distant had burnt to the ground. He knew and loved her as did everyone else on the Island. "As lovely an old Irish lady," he fondly described her, "as ever graced a heroic race." Instantly crew and building materials were transferred to the widow's farm, and in less than a week's time under Protar's driving direction, the Widow McCafferty and her numerous brood had a new roof over her head.

To his intimate friend, who was to visit him later that summer, he wrote, preparing him: "You will find my plans altered somewhat. At fifty-six I am really too old to embark upon an ambitious farming venture. Besides, my entire time

will be needed to tend to these poor people here. I have decided, too, to make my permanent home in the old Mormon house. It is good enough for me. It is solid and in good order now and will be easier to keep clean. Also will it be quicker accessible, when I am needed in a hurry. I have taken on a shy and stammering but smiling, intelligent Island lad to help with the chores. I hope he likes my cooking. His father is the village cobbler of St. James who has ten or more other children to console him. He cites Shakespeare, in and out of season by the ell and embodies within his portly person most of the county offices of the great county of Manitou." Not a word as to the real reason for abandoning his long cherished plans. That was Protar!

His extensive farming equipment no longer needed was carefully distributed among the more progressive farmers of the Island. The ancient log house which he had substituted for the new one he had planned still stands as he has left it. The saplings he had planted with artistic grace had grown to luxurios maturity before his passing. Here he lived, toiled and died. But in death he slumbers near the site where he meant to dwell in life.

The thirty-two years of Feodor Protar's life on Beaver Island were crowded years of selfless labor and ceaseless self-sacrifice. Arriving with considerable wealth, he left with none at all. Precious little he spent on himself. The bulk went for medicines and medical supplies and gifts. He accepted neither remuneration for his services nor reimbursement for the medicaments he supplied, gruffly resenting any attempts in that direction. Day and night through howling storms and blizzards and snowdrifts he ministered to the ailing without a thought of himself and often with days without food and nights without sleep, driving his wild half-broken Indian pony, "Harry," no one else on the Island dared to drive, with break-neck speed over rough corduroy roads, over swamps and dunes, throughout the whole length and breadth of the spacious Island.

No human being ever had more tender care or kinder treatment than had that beloved horse of his. When a few years before Protar's own passing, Harry died at the ripe old age of thirty-three, his master was disconsolate. He buried his faithful horse with full honors, in brand new harness and blanket as befitting a loyal servant. Harry had never felt the sting of a whip.

To his kinsman in Rock Island, he wrote on that occasion: "Our beloved Harry, our pal and bosom friend, our full and equal partner in mercy, more eager to serve than myself, and often shaming me; ever ready, ever willing, ever cheerful, never flagging, never balking, never tiring, never missing, leaves me mourning as for a beloved brother and very lonely. . . ."

Medical service, however, was not the only aid he rendered to the people of the Island. Presently they began to avail themselves of his wide and practical knowledge, his rare foresight and wise judgment. Protar's stern sense of justice, his impartiality, his firmness and his sympathy and understanding won their absolute faith and trust. Familiarizing himself with the Island's customs, character and traditions he began and was able to settle many old smouldering feuds and enmities, many a quarrel and dispute and to solve many family problems and perplexities. Yet Protar was not a member of the Catholic Church, the only church on the Island, nor was he backward in making his religious position very clear when challenged. This is how he explained his position to a priest of whom he was very fond and who was a frequent visitor at his home: "I am convinced that with God one good deed outweighs a hundred prayers. That one example of an unselfish deed to a sinner reforms more surely than a hundred eloquent sermons. My Christianity will not be hemmed by any four walls. I need no priest to torment me with my sins. They themselves have a way of doing that to me aplenty. I search for them and hunt them down as incessantly as a dog does his fleas. It takes more than a priest's prayer or a confessor's

absolution to cleanse me of my sins. I wish it were as easy as all that."

Protar's life on Beaver Island was a very busy one. His professional duties, his housework (he was an excellently trained cook as most Russian nobles of his day were), his daily chores—he had lived alone the last twenty-five years of his life—left him but little time for his favorite recreations of reading, writing, hiking, swimming, and social visiting. For the natives he always kept open house. There were always some wholesome candies for the young, some tobacco for his male visitors and some delicacies for his feminine visitors. Reporters, unless they needed his aid, and curiosity seekers were discouraged with icy politeness. He had no time for them and resented their patronizing familiarity.

Tradition has it, that once, when an Island friend of his announced to Protar that the Governor of Michigan was outside, ready to pay his respects to Protar, who was compounding some medicine just then for a waiting patient, Protar asked brusquely: "Is he sick, is he hungry or thirsty, can I do anything for him? If not, please tell him, I appreciate his courtesy, but am too busy to see him just now." And he didn't. Yet he would spend hours telling stories to and frolicking with visiting native children who adored him.

Protar was blest with an iron constitution until a few years before he died; he had neglected to take proper care of an attack of pneumonia he contracted in midwinter from a patient he had been treating for that disease. Yet to the very last evening of his life he attended to his duties. On the morning he was found dead. Imperceptibly he had passed from sleep to death. He died in the old Mormon house he had occupied for so many happy years on March 3, 1925, in his eighty-eighth year.

One clear cold winter day they laid him to rest. The Islands mourned as they had never mourned before. Many willing native hands and many, many humble little coins from meager purses but eager hearts built for their departed friend and

benefactor an imposing tomb, Druidlike in its austerity and simplicity. High and massive walls guard Feodor Protar's last resting place near the very site he had once coveted for his Island home. Yonder his tomb rises among the tall trees of the virgin forest he loved so much in life, high up, within the sound of the big Lake below. From a bronze plaque his rugged likeness gazes over his peaceful pasture lands toward the rising sun.

*Recd*  
**THE AMERICAN LEGION IN MICHIGAN**

BY EMIL L. CARLSON,

Past Dept. Historian, American Legion, Dept. of Michigan

**F**OR God and Country, we associate ourselves together for the following purpose: To uphold and defend the constitution of the United States of America; to maintain law and order; to foster and perpetuate a one hundred percent Americanism; to preserve the memories and incidents of our association in the Great War; to inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, state and nation; to combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses; to make right the master of might; to promote peace and good will on earth; to safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of Justice, Freedom and Democracy; to consecrate and sanctify our comradeship by our devotion to mutual helpfulness."

The foregoing preamble was adopted at the first regular organization meeting of The American Legion that was held in New York in April, 1919, although it had been preceded by a preliminary meeting in Paris, France, on February 16, 1919. The late Frederick M. Alger of Detroit served as chairman of the Michigan temporary delegation to the New York meeting which was presided over by Theodore Roosevelt, Junior. Forty-six delegates were chosen to represent Michigan at the caucus or the first national convention, to be held at St. Louis in May of that year.

Following the meeting of delegates representing the national organization, the Michigan delegates met on May 10, 1919, and formed the Department of Michigan of The American Legion. George C. Waldo was elected temporary chairman and Lyle B. Tabor for the office of temporary adjutant. These temporary appointments were later made permanent for one year for their respective offices. The state was subdivided into districts, which corresponded with congressional district areas, and a department charter was granted by national headquarters on August 1, 1920.

Space does not permit of the naming of all Legionnaires who have served the Department honestly and well, but mention must be made of the supervisory officers.

Department Commanders succeeding Commander Waldo were: Augustus H. Gansser, Major-General Guy M. Wilson, Paul A. Martin, Dr. Robert B. Harkness, Dr. C. V. Spawr, John F. Roehl, Joseph Herbert, Harold G. Edwards, Ray C. Conlon, Raymond J. Kelly, Charles H. Schutz, Leslie P. Kefgen, John W. Gilmore, Don L. Beardslee, Lester O. Moody, David V. Addy, Guy M. Cox, Carl H. Smith and W. Bea Waldrip, the present Department Commander.

Department Adjutants succeeding Tabor were: Theodore W. Kolbe, Robert J. Byers and Donald G. Glascoff, the latter now serving in that capacity.

Too much credit cannot be given to Past Department Commanders Major General Guy M. Wilson and Lester O. Moody for the invaluable aid given veterans irrespective of organization affiliations. This service continued until failing health caused them to curtail their efforts in that respect. The death of Major General Guy M. Wilson occurring in 1936, and Lester O. Moody in 1938.

Colonel John G. Emery was elected National Commander to complete the term of F. W. Galbraith who was killed in 1921.

During the organization period of the department, a survey showed the urgent need of some agency to assist disabled veterans and dependents of deceased veterans in the just prosecution of their claims against the Federal government. Thousands were in actual want due to the lack of knowledge of the proper methods of procedure required in presenting or pressing their claims. A group of men who were themselves disabled and in sympathy with their unfortunate comrades were employed and trained in the technicalities of government regulations relating to the securing of proper records, affidavits, and medical proof which was necessary in the sub-

mission of claims for compensation, vocational training, hospitalization, and War Risk Insurance benefits.

During the demobilization period, each veteran underwent a physical examination prior to discharge from service, but it was impossible to make a thorough physical examination of each individual. Veterans who had been disabled, and with a hospital record of disability, were granted compensation in accordance with their disability rating. Many veterans, however, who had undergone the perfunctory physical examination upon separation from service later developed disabilities which were the direct result of service but were not noted upon their army discharge. In order to prove service connection it was necessary to secure numberless affidavits regarding such disability prior to, and subsequent from, service. Even battle wounds which were rated as less than 10 percent disabling were not considered great enough to warrant payment of compensation.

Relief for the disabled has been the major objective of the American Legion ever since its organization, and the Department of Michigan has been in the forefront of that battle since its inception. During the first five years of operation, the Welfare Department prosecuted 58,048 cases of disabled men and dependents of deceased veterans, securing financial relief and assistance to the amount of \$16,535,170.70. Later its duties were merged with those of the Department Adjutant, and welfare work is a great part of the work done by the headquarters office staff.

With Michigan ranking at the top in the fight against tuberculosis, the American Legion Hospital at Battle Creek has taken its place among the leading institutions carrying on a progressive course of care and treatment among those so afflicted.

This is the first tuberculosis hospital to be operated by the American Legion for treatment of service men. The nucleus of the hospital was the Camp Custer Community House, the cost of which was defrayed by the state War Preparedness

Fund. After the war, the building was sold, but was repurchased by the state, and leased to the American Legion with the proviso, that it be used for care and treatment of tubercular veterans.

The cooperation of the state legislature was again demonstrated in this project of the Department of Michigan. The balance of the state Community Council Commission Fund had been previously turned over to the American Legion for their initial welfare set-up, and the Legislature again acted to turn over the balance of the War Preparedness Fund, making the latter available for the equipping and maintaining of the American Legion Hospital.

The hospital was dedicated by Marshal Ferdinand Foch of France on November 7, 1921, and the first patient was admitted on December 15, 1921.

Over two thousand veterans have been hospitalized in the American Legion Hospital since the opening of the institution. The facilities have been used by over sixty counties throughout the state when sanitoriums have been crowded or when they have not possessed proper institutions for the treatment of such cases. Four hundred and fourteen patients were accommodated during the last fiscal year. At the present time there remain only eighteen ex-service men in the hospital, though a number of wives of veterans are patients.

The income from the non-veteran patients and from veteran patients, cared for by contract with the Veterans' Administration, suffices to operate the hospital upon a self-supporting basis.

George A. Dorman is Superintendent being assisted by four other employees in the administrative department. Dr. W. L. Howard is Medical Director, Dr. E. J. O'Brien is in charge of the surgical department, assisted by a staff of seven.

The American Legion has always been interested in the matter of national defense, expending its efforts and influence toward the establishment of an adequate army, navy, and air force. To prevent our country from becoming embroiled in

future wars, the American Legion has worked steadfastly toward passage of national legislation under which all industries would be conscripted and operated by the government in the event of war, thereby eliminating all private profit. The retention of the state's National Guard and the Citizens Military Training Camp period are also included in the National Program.

Community Service, is best exemplified by the American Legion Public Safety groups established by the various posts for emergency duty. Their value has been demonstrated during disasters such as earthquakes, fires, and the like. Many posts originated ways and means of helping their community during the recent bank moratorium.

The so-called "Economy Law" disorganized the existing system of disability relief and thousands of disabled veterans were again required to prove that their disabilities were of service origin. That was a difficult task to do, some fifteen years after receipt of such disability, and when many former affidavit signers were dead or their present whereabouts were unknown. The "President's Decree" of January, 1934, offered some relief to that situation, restoring a certain portion of withdrawn aid. The withdrawal of Federal aid from disabled veterans only shifts the financial burden from the Federal government to the tax-payers of the several states. In the case of Michigan this would be a considerable item, as thousands of disabled veterans are physically or mentally unable to follow a gainful occupation. The support of dependents of disabled and deceased veterans would seem to be a moral obligation of the Federal government and, if such, it should not be passed on to state or municipal governments.

Work among the disabled veterans showed the need of some agency to care for the children while veterans were undergoing hospital care. Those findings were crystallized into a study of children's institutions, from which effort sprang the American Legion Children's Billet at Otter Lake and the extensive child welfare program of the Department of Michigan.

The Billet is located upon the site of a former sanatorium. The site was a gift from the posts and auxiliary units of the Seventh District. The first children were taken in charge by the American Legion on June 20, 1923, and were cared for under temporary arrangements until the first cottage was opened in February, 1924.

The primary purpose of the Billet is prevention, rather than hospitalization, and most of the children passing through the Billet are cared for during short periods when sickness in their homes necessitates their being cared for by outside agencies. Orphans of veterans adopted from the Billet are still considered wards of the American Legion. Foster parents are carefully investigated before being granted the privilege of adopting the children. The welfare of the children is under supervision from time of adoption until attainment of maturity.

The Billet consists of five cottages. It has a permanent capacity of one hundred and fourteen besides the personnel, although many extra children can be, and have been, taken care of for short emergency periods. An additional cottage is under construction, to be dedicated to the memory of Herbert R. McKinney, who made the Billet his hobby and was an ardent worker in its interests from the date of its organization until his recent death.

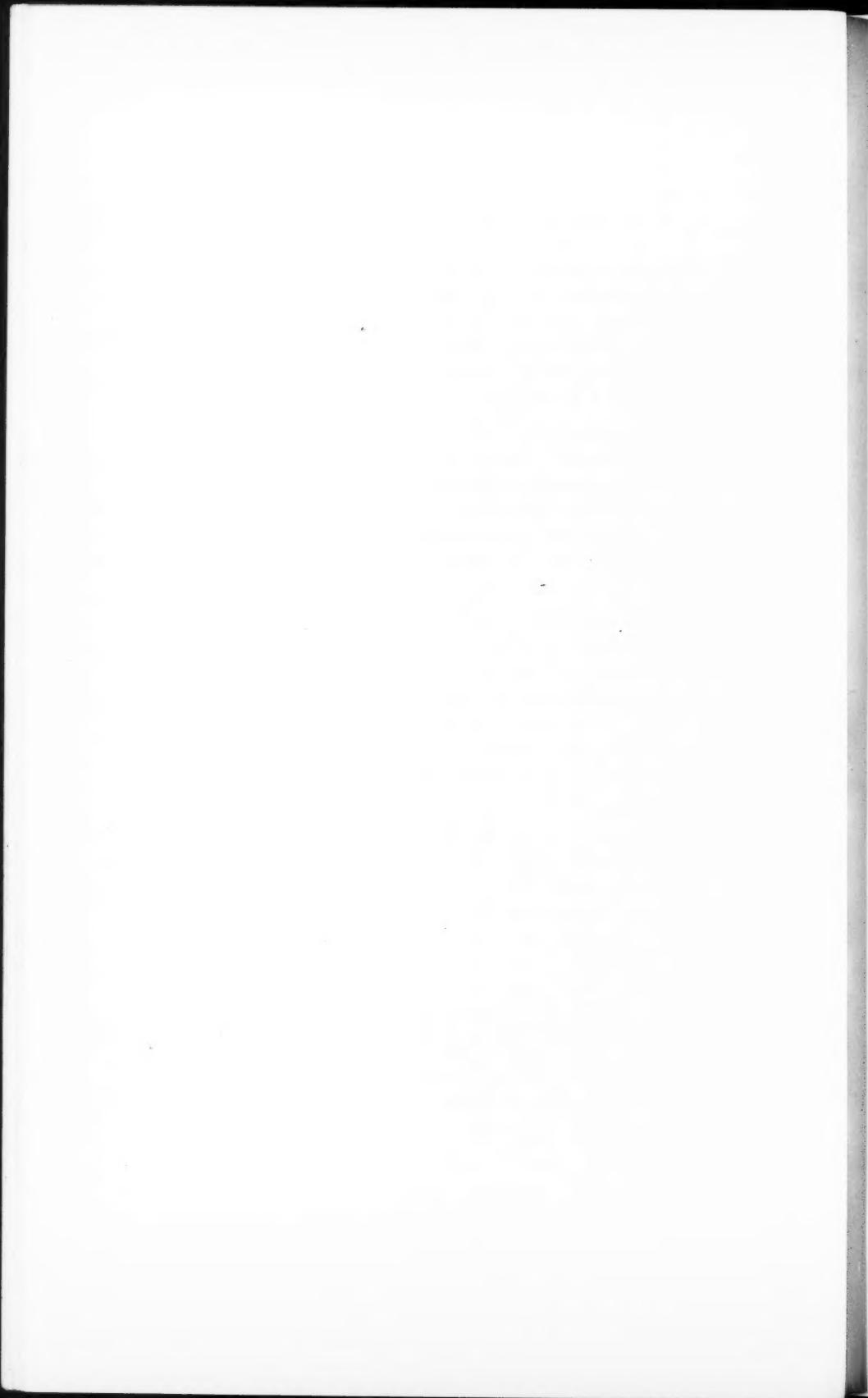
The Billet is the pride of the Department of Michigan, and public-spirited citizens vie with the Legion posts and Auxiliary units in contributing to the comfort of the children. The direct supervision of the Billet is under the Superintendent, Miss Monica E. Kenney, R. N., supervised by a board appointed by the Department Commander.

The welfare department has a full time case worker who covers the entire state in her duties of instructing the various posts and auxiliary units in the proper care of children. Case-work in conjunction with Billet application is an important part of the work of the Department Caseworker, but other duties and contacts with cases are quite as important. One

comparison will serve to illustrate this division of the work. Of the 440 cases closed during 1938, 196 cases involving 766 children were Billet applications, and 244 cases involving 827 children were miscellaneous cases of all types that were referred to the Department Child Welfare Chairman.

The Department of Michigan fully supports the national programs of the American Legion, chief of which is that of Americanism. Under the latter are grouped the combatting of Communism, encouraging of all educational projects, assisting in local community enterprises, and sponsoring various recreational and character building movements for the youth of the nation. Flag codes, and copies of the national constitution, have been placed in schools. Medals have been awarded for student efficiency, and the department has taken an active part in opposing the recent attempt to curtail educational facilities of the state. Ninety-seven of the posts of Michigan have organized a Boy Scout troop of their own, and "National Boys' Week" is arousing more interest and consequent participation each year. Over five thousand Michigan boys enjoyed the American Legion Junior Baseball program this year.

The American Legion, Department of Michigan, was incorporated as a non-profit corporation on December 8, 1931. On July 31, 1938, the department consisted of 347 posts with a total membership in excess of 30,275.



*Scanned by*  
**ON THE TRAIL OF A VISION**

BY THE LATE HONORABLE WM. L. CASE\*  
BENZONIA *history*

**T**HE facts and records concerning the establishment of a colony in Benzonia disclose that the idea was conceived in the mind of one man. That man was Reverend Charles E. Bailey. It was soon after he began his pastoral work in Medina, Ohio, about 1855, that the idea of a colony, church, and Christian college at some available point in the then new West took definite shape in his mind.

In early life Mr. Bailey had been acquainted with the founder of Knox College, in Illinois; later he had been identified with Oberlin College, and it was his idea to establish an institution patterned after these colleges. His controlling thought was that such a colony and school would afford the best foundation for good citizenship as civilization advanced westward.

He spoke of his plan to Reverend M. W. Fairfield, then a prominent church leader in northern Ohio, and at once found a sympathetic response. Other representative ministers were interviewed, and after several conferences a plan of operation was agreed upon, the first step being to secure a suitable location where a considerable tract of government land could be obtained.

Mr. Bailey and his brother John, then living in Grinnell, Iowa, together with Mr. Fairfield, assumed the responsibility of finding such a location; and securing a team, light wagon, and camping outfit, they explored much of the available land in Wisconsin and the unsettled prairies of Iowa. After many weeks spent in this way, enduring much hardship from winter travel, they discovered that a recent railroad grant had withdrawn all government land in Iowa from the market. A

\*Mr. Case, after his retirement from business, devoted much of his time to historical writing, drawing upon his own varied experience of pioneer and early days, and upon papers and documents at his disposal. Mr. Case was a member of the state legislature five years, as representative from the Benzle-Leelanau District in 1919, 1920, and 1921, and as senator from the 27th District in 1922 and 1924.

land proposition in Missouri was recommended, and they went to look it over, but were not impressed. Besides, Missouri was then a slave holding state and objectionable on that account.

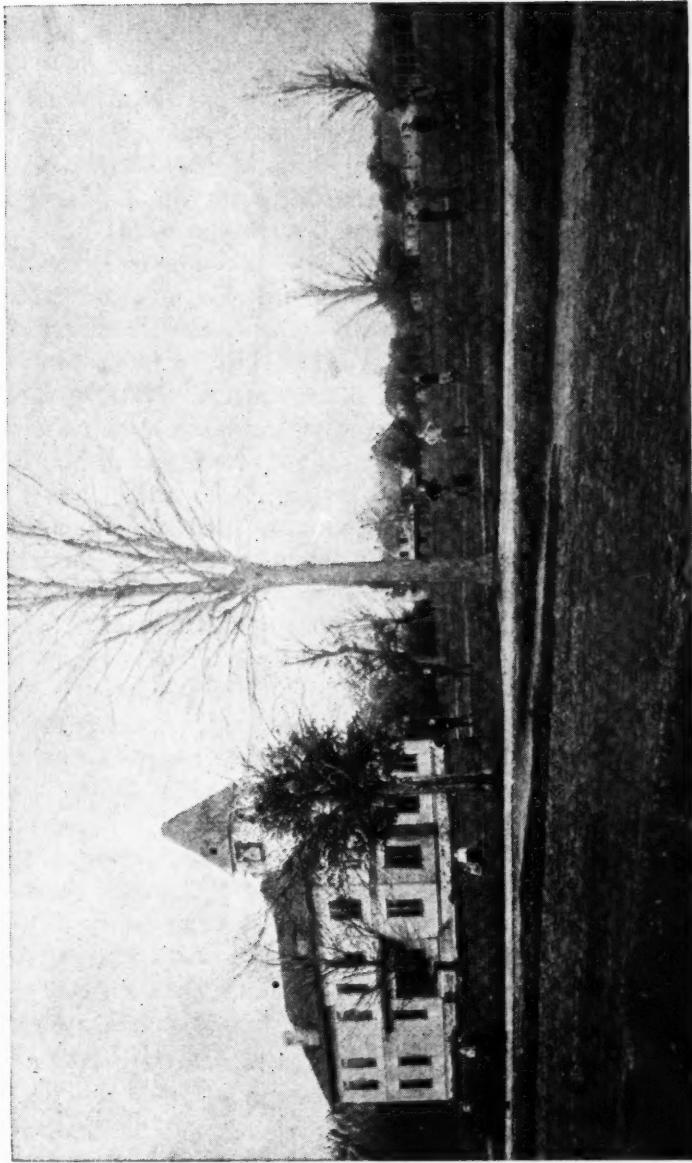
Returning to Ohio, Mr. Fairfield withdrew from the enterprise, but the Bailey brothers were not so easily turned back, and they spent some time in discussing plans. It so happened that John had preserved a clipping from the *New York Tribune* describing in glowing terms the country around Grand Traverse Bay, in Michigan. This little clipping was now read and re-read with great interest.

In the meantime Mr. Chauncey T. Carrier, of western New York, stopped in Ohio on his way west in search of a new home, and called upon Reverend A. D. Barber, an old school friend. Mr. Barber told him of the project in which the Baileys were engaged and induced him to join them at Grinnell, Iowa. There they had a conference, and it was arranged that at the appointed time they should meet at the most northerly landing in Grand Traverse Bay, the name of which none of them knew at the time.

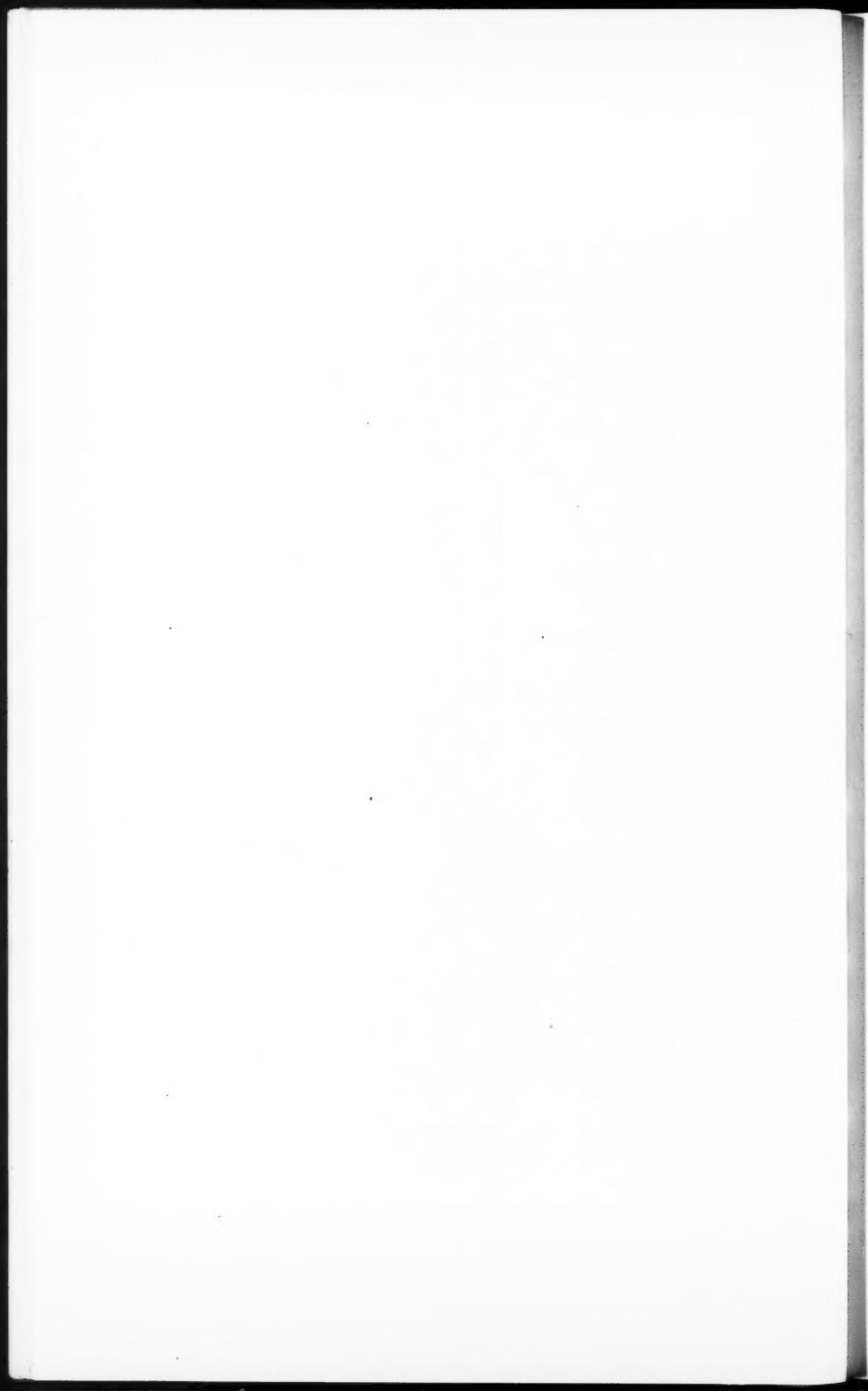
At about the time agreed upon, Mr. Carrier arrived at Northport. The Bailey brothers landed at one of the Manitou islands. They went to Glen Arbor in a small boat and from there made their way on foot to Northport, where they met Mr. Carrier.

The three men lost no time in visiting a location east of Elk Lake in Antrim County that had been recommended, but found the tract unsatisfactory. It was getting late in the season and from what they had already heard and seen they were satisfied that the Grand Traverse region offered better facilities for their proposed enterprise than any other open for settlement. However, no satisfactory explorations could be made before the next spring.

Mr. John Bailey, another brother, Horace, and Mr. H. A. Wolcott, with their families, moved to Glen Arbor, where they established comfortable camps for the winter. (Mr. Carrier,



BENZONIA ACADEMY



who had returned to his home, enlisted at the outbreak of the Civil War and died in the service of his country.) Reverend Mr. Bailey spent the winter (1857-58) in Ontario, Ill., where he temporarily served the church as pastor. Much of his time during this winter was spent in preparing "Articles of Association and Plans for a Christian Colony and Institution of Learning" to be established in the Grand Traverse Region, Northern Michigan.

Early in the spring Mr. Bailey and his family joined the little group at Glen Arbor. He was accompanied by Charles Burr and his two sons, Horace and Elijah.

Soon after the arrival of the newcomers the party of six men set out to explore the territory. With Lake Michigan on the north and west, they started almost directly south, facing a vast, unbroken forest, without a map and with only a compass for a guide. After rounding Glen Lake they covered the heavy hills through to the Platte River and beyond until they came to the first reasonably level areas. The party was favorably impressed with the location. In a direct line it was about twenty-five miles south of Glen Arbor. The soil seemed to be good; the tract of land on the east seemed fairly level and unlimited in extent; and the high ground overlooking the river valley on the south convinced the little party that here they would drive their stakes and make a beginning.

The place selected for the central point or village plat was about a mile south and two miles east of the present site of Benzonia. Here they made a small clearing, and Mr. Wolcott and Mr. Burr were delegated to visit the government land office and make the purchase.

During the early summer, members of the party made several trips over a blazed trail from Glen Arbor to the camp. At one time, instead of returning by the trail, they followed the shore of Lake Michigan from Glen Arbor to Frankfort and then ascended the river valley, with the thought of finding a passage by water to a point adjoining the camp. After going eight or ten miles, they turned east, leaving the river valley,

and pushed through the woods toward the camp. About two miles from where they left the river the little party came by mere chance, and for the first time, upon the tract of land that is now the center of Benzonia village.

The natural beauty of the location and its setting appealed to them at once. A little observation disclosed that they were on high ground, with a beautiful lake (Crystal Lake) at the foot of the hill just north of them. To the south and west circled the river valley, with unlimited areas of choice hardwood lands in every direction, and all at their disposal. So strongly did the location, thus unexpectedly discovered, appeal to them that the little group of courageous men decided without delay and with one accord that at last they had reached the end of the trail and that this land of promise was the reward for their long and patient search.

The site for the colony had now been definitely determined. Preparations were at once made to provide comfortable living quarters for the little party still in Glen Arbor. The lumber for the first house had to be brought by way of Lake Michigan in small boats to the mouth of the Betsie River at Frankfort, and then up the river to a point as near the village site as possible. Several days were spent in clearing the river of fallen timber and obstructions. During the following weeks the men were busy cutting out small openings in the forest and building the first houses, which were constructed for the most part of logs and poles, all open joints being securely closed with a liberal application of clay mortar.

Late in October (1858) final preparations were made for getting established in the new homes. A small vessel was chartered to carry the goods from Glen Arbor to the mouth of the river at Frankfort. The women and children were passengers in a small open boat.

The party consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. Bailey and son, Charles C.; Mrs. John Bailey and children, James and Clara; Mr. and Mrs. H. A. Wolcott; Mr. and Mrs. Horace Burr; and Elijah Burr. (Mr. John Bailey was at this time

temporarily in Ohio; Horace Bailey had died at Glen Arbor the previous summer.)

It was toward midnight when the little party landed at the mouth of the river, where Frankfort now stands. There were three French-Canadian families there at the time, Mr. William Robar and his sons-in-law, John Greenwood and Frank Martin. These families hospitably furnished accommodations for the night.

It required more than two full days, with the small boats, to go up the river to the landing, and it was not until about noon of the third day that they arrived in the vicinity of their new home.

Cold weather was coming on, but fairly comfortable quarters had been prepared for these four small families. With the exception of little openings around these homes, the entire hilltop and its surroundings was one great forest of maple, beech, elm, and other hardwood trees, with a liberal sprinkling of huge hemlock, and an occasional enormous white pine towering above them all.

If these families, shut off from the world as they were, endured any hardships, or were a bit lonely during that first long, cold winter, there is no record that a word of complaint was made.

In the fall of the following year (1859) Mr. John Barr and E. L. Neil, with their families, joined the little settlement.

Reverend Mr. Bailey, while in Ontario, Ill., had prepared a plat of the proposed village which was to be the center of activities of the new colony. This was drawn up at the same time as the "Articles of Association" before mentioned. The plat embraced a section of land one mile square and was divided into about two hundred and fifty lots. Those near the center were small, designed for business purposes. The lots became larger as the distance from the center increased, with a double row of five-acre lots at the outside all around. The plat was so drawn that it might be equally well adapted to a piece of land a mile square, whether in the level prairies of

the West or in the uneven timbered regions of Michigan. In the platted area were reserved sites for church, public school, college, campus, and two parks.

Early in the spring of 1860 the families of Reverend George Thompson, William Weston, Joseph Carson, Lucius W. Case (father of the writer), and George Wrisley joined the colony, all with numerous children. In the winter of 1860-61 there were thirteen families in the settlement, nine more than the previous winter. Within the next two years large additions were made to the population.

An early record states that during the spring of 1863 about sixty settlers came within a period of thirty days. Among these were Reverend Reuben Hatch, who had been the first president of Olivet College, and Reverend James B. Walker, of Sandusky, Ohio, an author and philanthropist of considerable note. Dr. Walker had previously visited Benzonia several times, as had also Reverend Amzi D. Barber. These two men, Dr. Walker and Mr. Barber, with Reverend Charles E. Bailey, were, in the judgment of the writer, essentially the founders of the Benzonia Colony enterprise. The activity of these men, in advertising, personal contacts, and public addresses, was very largely the influence that resulted in the coming of so many fine families during the formative period of the colony.

The majority of settlers in the early years came by boat to Frankfort, where they were met by Benzonia people and helped up the river with their household effects. A scow had been built especially for traffic on the river. It was of pine plank construction, about forty feet long and nine feet wide. There was a narrow walk or run-way on each side and six feet of the boat at each end was decked over. Two men on each side to propel the craft and perhaps one to steer made a full crew. This scow would easily carry several tons and served its purpose splendidly. On its first trip to Frankfort the boys there called her the "Hallelujah", and such was her adopted name.

Sometimes two or three families came to the colony together, but whether one family or more, previous notice of their coming having been received at Benzonia, it was arranged who should meet the newcomers, welcome them, escort them up the river, and entertain them until they could take care of themselves. The spirit of genuine brotherhood and common interest was perhaps never better exemplified than in the early settlement of Benzonia.

The character of the families joining the colony was such as might be expected. They were attracted by, and were in sympathy with, the high Christian ideals governing the community. Benzonia early became distinguished for the number of retired ministers and missionaries who, with their families, became permanent residents. Among these, without counting pastors of the church, were Reverends Geo. Thompson, Jas. R. Wright, Amos B. Adams, Joseph S. Fisher, Alonzo Barnard, C. C. Baldwin, David B. Spencer, E. E. Kirkland, and John S. Lewis.

Great was the delight and satisfaction which the coming of these families brought to those already in the settlement, and also the coming, within the first decade, of the families of Hopkins, Steele, Steward, Huntington, Hubbell, Van Deman, Pettitt, Betts, Coates, Blue, Balch, Waters (Asa and Amasa), Sinclair, Carter, Judson (Silas F., Lyman P., and Cassius C.), Marshall, Chapin, Holbrook, Mack, Smith (Samuel, Edward P., John K., and George H.), Bailey (Lorenzo), Perry, Case (Arthur and Morris), Jaqueth, Young (Watson and James), Piper, Carver, Johnson (Col. Horace and John C.), Childs, Averill, and other just as welcome and valuable additions.

According to present day standards, the conditions of living in those days were hardly ideal. The mail at first came once a week, carried from Manistee, a distance of thirty miles, on the back of an Indian. For many years there was no doctor nearer than Manistee or Traverse City.

The first road was cut through the woods to Manistee as early as 1863. During the same year a road was made passable

for wagons between Benzonia and Traverse City, the citizens of each settlement by mutual agreement doing the work on the half nearest their own locality. The highway from Benzonia to Frankfort, in its best days, was an almost impassable corduroy road, the logs being under mud and water even in summer weather.

In February, 1862, H. E. Steward and L. W. Hubbell went from Benzonia to Traverse City with ox teams. They took grain to the mill there and brought back supplies. The snow was more than two feet deep, and about the only track was that made by the mail carrier, with his horse and single plank sled. It was possible to get through the woods with their sleds only by avoiding the larger fallen timber and running over that not so large, much of the way using their axes to clear a passage. They were a full week of six days making the trip, camping in the woods two nights both going and coming. On the way out a supply of fodder was left at each camping place for the teams on the return trip. This trip is related as being typical of many others.

It is significant that the first organization of any kind in the new colony, or in what is now Benzie County, was that of the church at Benzonia. This was early in the summer of 1860, several months previous even to the organization of the township. There were not yet a dozen families in the settlement, but it was considered that there were enough adults to form an organization and that it should be the source and center of all social as well as religious activities.

The church was organized in the living room of the Charles E. Bailey home. A year later the combined church and schoolhouse was completed.

This historic building deserves a brief description. It was built of logs and its original size was fourteen by twenty-four feet. The bell was substantially mounted on the ridge of the roof. The colony soon outgrew this building, and the practical village forefathers took a day off and under the direction of carpenters Barr and Neil sawed the building, from ridge to

foundation, into two parts, then pulled one side out fourteen feet, and closed in the open space with new logs, so that in size it was now twenty-four by twenty-eight feet. The bell was then securely mounted on the stump of a very large hemlock tree, where it was renowned throughout the state and beyond as "the bell on the stump".

From the very first it was planned that the work of the church should go hand in hand with that of the college. A college charter was granted in 1863, the new institution taking the name Grand Traverse College. Dr. Walker was the first president and Mr. Bailey the secretary.

The log building described above served the institution until a college building was finished, about 1868. This structure was the largest and best in the region at that time, with an auditorium forty-four by sixty-four feet on the second floor. After serving church and college for only about six years, it was destroyed by fire, in March, 1874.

In the early seventies this pioneer college had an attendance of from one hundred twenty-five to one hundred fifty students and was depended upon as almost the only supply of teachers for the entire Grand Traverse region, from Ludington on the south to Charlevoix on the north.

The burning of the college building seemed a disaster from which there could be no recovery, but plans were at once made for re-building. With no money income at all, the village fathers pledged time, labor, and material, much of which was actually contributed, but they had undertaken the impossible. At this juncture the residence of John Bailey was purchased by the college and fitted up with recitation rooms and with dormitory accommodations on the second floor.

The work of the school was now kept up with a large measure of success until 1891, when Barber Hall was built and named after Reverend Amzi D. Barber, a brother-in-law of the Baileys. The Bailey building then received the designation East Hall, and was used exclusively as girls' dormitory and boarding place.

[Note: Mr. Case's narrative does not explain that in 1888, shortly before the completion of Barber Hall, the college was reorganized and the name changed to Benzonia College.]

With the new facilities the work of the school was handled with greater efficiency, but all of the while with a heavy burden of responsibility for its success and maintenance. As the years went by, conditions changed and the schedule of college work was revised to a preparatory or academy basis, as a more practical and less expensive undertaking.

---

Note: Mr. Case's account does not include a history of the academy enterprise, a brief relation of which may interest the reader.

When Benzonia College was closed, by action of the trustees, the property, consisting of East Hall, Barber Hall, and the campus was turned over to Benzonia Academy, which opened in the fall of 1900. The life of the school covered a period of eighteen years, during all of which time, except for the last year, the affairs of the institution were directed by two men,—Reverend Charles W. Dunn, principal from 1900 to 1907, and Mr. Geo. R. Catton, principal from 1907 to 1917. During this time the academy offered high school and college preparatory work to a considerable number of students, many of whom entered Olivet College later.

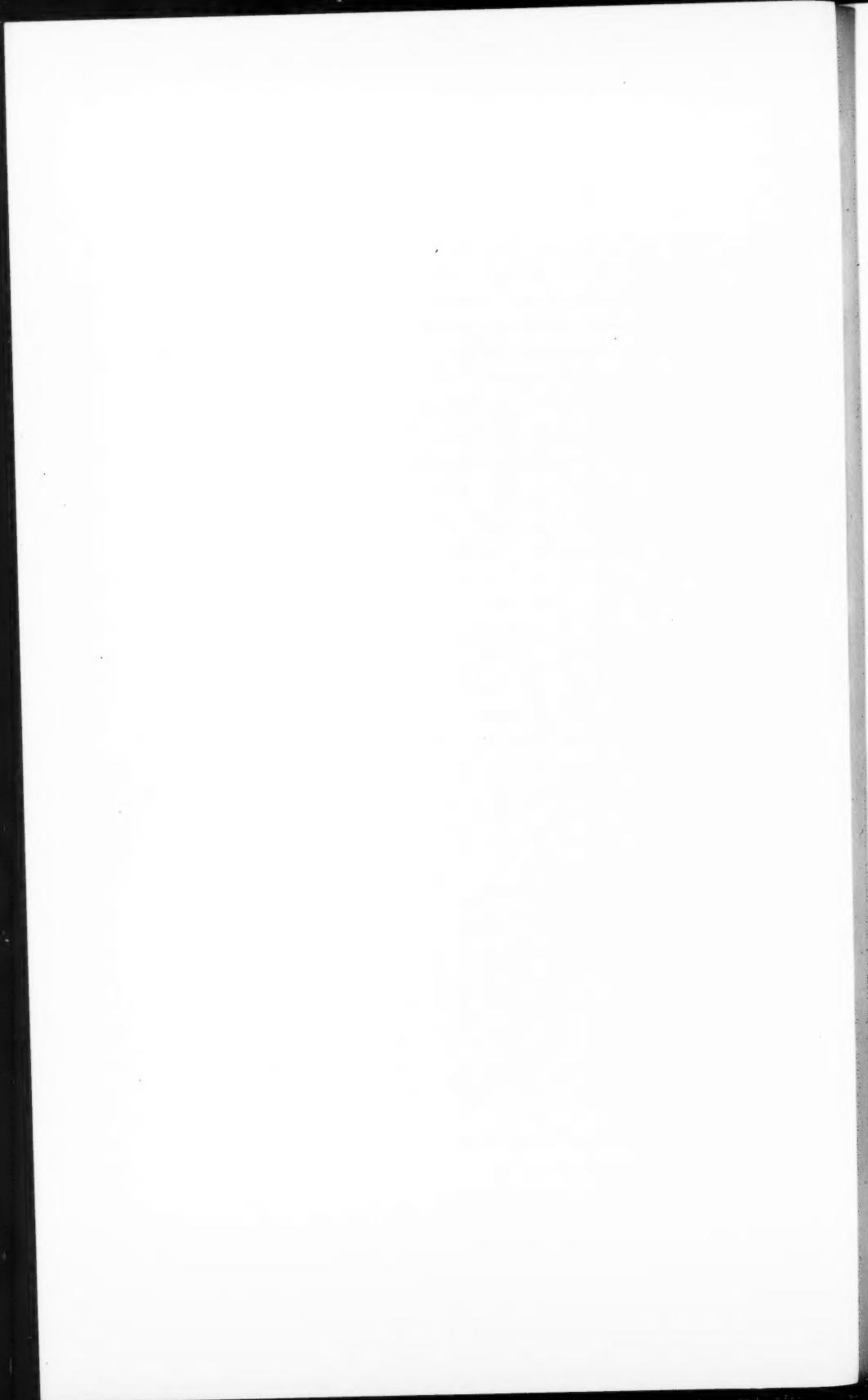
In 1909, the dormitory, East Hall, burned and was replaced by a fine brick building, named Mills Cottage, in honor of Reverend Harlow S. Mills, beloved pastor of the Benzonia church for twenty years.

In June, 1918, because of changed conditions, and especially because of financial difficulties due to the World War, the work of the school was suspended, all the property being deeded to the local Congregational church to be used in the service of the community.

Thus ended a pioneer educational enterprise covering a period of some fifty-five years. The spirit of the pioneers of 1858 is still felt in many ways, however. Through the college

and academy the community has become widely known in educational and religious circles. The church, which stands on the lot reserved for a house of worship in the original plat of the village, still dominates the village life.

The visitor to Benzonia today will find only one building standing as a memorial to the original educational enterprise, Mills Cottage, which now, as Mills Community House, through its library, auditorium, committee rooms, and recreational facilities, provides the means of a larger and richer community life. The little village on the hilltop, midway between Manistee and Traverse City on U. S. 31, is deeply indebted to the past for the finest things it enjoys today.



## WHEN DETROIT WAS FRENCH

(Some notes on early Detroit, by The Honourable William Renwick Riddell,  
LL.D., D.C.L., F.R. Hist. Soc., etc., Justice of Appeal, Ontario)

THE war between France and Britain in the last years of the Seventeenth Century, in essence religious and dynastic, had its echoes on this Continent: and when in 1697, hostilities had their surcease by the Treaty of Ryswick, both French and English Colonies of Continental and Insular America had a breathing spell. The respite lasted until the death of King Charles II of Spain in 1700 brought on the War of the Spanish Succession.

The time of peace was utilized by D'Iberville in 1698, taking up the enterprise of LaSalle and founding a French Colony in Louisiana, which we know as Biloxi. Further north, in July, 1701, Antoine Laumet de la Mothe Cadillac led an expedition of one hundred Canadians and a missionary, and founded Detroit, the second oldest permanent establishment in Michigan. Cadillac encountered the opposition of both English and Indians, but the importance of the Post as giving control of the all-important fur-trade was urged by him, and recognized by his superiors. Robert Livingston, Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners in New York, had not long before urged an English Post to be there fixed: but Detroit became French and so continued until its surrender to Rogers after the Capitulation of Montreal in 1760. Michilimackinac lost its importance and Louisiana was linked to Nouvelle, France. We are told by the enthusiastic French-Canadian historian that "the colonists were enchanted with the beauty of the land and the mildness of the climate. And, really", he adds, "Nature has delighted in spreading its charms in that delicious country. A surface, gently undulating, verdant plains, forests of oak, of maple, of sycamore, and acacia, rivers of extraordinary limpidity and in the middle of which the Islands seem to be cast by art to most please the eye. . ."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Garneau, *Histoire du Canada* (1846), Vol. II, p. 190. Incidentally Garneau places the settlement and founding of Fort Pontchartrain in June, 1700, instead of July 24th, 1701.

But what we are concerned with here is what Cadillac himself thought of the place, and I translate part of an official Report to his superiors:

"Detroit is, probably, only a channel or stream of moderate width, and, according to my judgment, some twenty-five leagues in length: it lies north-north-east and south-south-west, about the 41st parallel and through it flow and glide away the sparkling and pellucid waters of Lakes Superior, Michigan and Huron, which are so many seas of sweet water, gently and in a moderate current flowing into Lake Erie, then into Lake Ontario or Frontenac, and at last mingling with the waters of the River St. Lawrence and then to the Ocean.

"The banks are spreading meadows in which the freshness of these beautiful waters keeps the grass ever green. These meadows are fringed by long and broad rows of fruit-trees, which have never had the care of a watchful gardener: and these fruit-trees, young and old, are bowed down under the weight and multitude of their fruit, their branches bending down toward the fertile soil which has brought them forth. In this so fertile soil, the climbing vine, which has never felt the knife of the vine-dresser, forms a close roof with its broad leaves and its thick clusters of grapes overhead. . . . Amid these rows of trees, you will see gathered in hundreds the shy stag and the fearful hind along with the leaping roebuck, picking up eagerly the apples and plums with which the ground is littered. There, too, the watchful turkey-hen calls her numerous brood, leading them to gather the grapes: and there the big cocks come to fill their broad and glutinous crows. The golden pheasant, the quail, the partridge, the woodcock, the turtle-dove, swarm in the woods and spread over the open country, intersected as it is by groves of great forest-trees, forming a beautiful prospect. . . . The hand of the pitiless mower has never cut the swelling grass—buffaloes of enormous height and size there fatten. The woods are of six kinds—walnut, white oak, red bastard ash, ivy, whitewood and cottonwood. And the trees are as straight as arrows, without knots,

almost without branches except at the very top: and are of enormous size and height. From their top the bold eagle looks without blinking at the sun. . . . The fish there are fed and washed in sparkling and pellucid waters and are no less delicious to the palate by reason of their abundance. So numerous are the swans that the rushes amid which they hide might be taken for lilies. The noisy goose, the duck, the teal and the bustard are so numerous that . . . . I will only use to make you understand, the expression of the Indian, who, when I asked him if there was much game there, said, "There is so much, that it only moves aside to let the boat pass. . . ."

"In a word, the climate is temperate, the air pure; during the day there is a gentle breeze, during the night the ever-placid sky spreads sweet and cool influences causing us to enjoy sound and benignant sleep. To this add, that its situation is important as it opens or closes the access to the distant tribes who live around these immense sweet-water oceans. . . ."

The description closes with the adjuration—"It is only the opponents of the truth who are the enemies of this settlement, so essential to the increase of the glory of our King, to the spread of religion, and the destruction of the throne of Baal", otherwise the heretic English.

No doubt, the residents of Detroit and the surrounding country will recognize the accuracy of the description of their home—even though the fur-trade is no longer of primary importance.

---

#### FIRST OFFICIAL NOTICE OF DETROIT IN THE ORDINANCES OF QUEBEC

The importance of a Post at the present Detroit was recognized by French and English by the end of the 17th Century. Robert Livingston, Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners, New York, had urged the British Government to establish a Post there, while Cadillac represented its importance to the Home authorities. The latter was empowered to carry out his project with the result that, July 24, 1701, he began the building of a palisade fort which he called Fort Pontchartrain. This has sometimes been considered a private enter-

prise of Cadillac's: but it is quite clear that it was authorized in advance by the proper authorities.

In examining the very interesting publication by the indefatigable Provincial Archivist of the Province of Quebec, M. Pierre-Georges Roy, called *Ordonnances, Commissions, etc., etc., des Gouverneurs et Intendants de la Nouvelle France, 1659-1706*, the first reference to the proposed Post at Detroit, which I find, is on June 15, 1701, more than a month before the actual foundation.

M. de Callières, Governor of Nouvelle, France, sent Père Bruyas with others to the country of the "Onnontaguez" to notify the Iroquois to bring down their prisoners to Montreal to be exchanged for the captured Iroquois, according to the Treaty of Peace, and gave instructions as to what was to be said to the Indians. I translate all that relates to Detroit as well as some further parts. This seems to be the first reference in an official Canadian document to Detroit.

It will be seen that the War of the Grand Alliance against France caused by the acceptance by Louis XIV of the Throne of Spain for his grandson, who became King Philip, is clearly adumbrated,—it broke out in 1702 and continued till it was terminated by the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713.

The Instructions read:—

"Onontio, your Father, who sends us here to tell you the time of the arrival of the Nations from the Upper Country, at Montreal, according to the request you have made to him by Tsionony and Siagonnentague on March 2nd and by Teganissorens, Harrision and the other Chiefs who came to see him in the Spring—we are also to tell you to collect all the prisoners, French and others, their allies, and especially the little Algonquin girl, who is at Goioguin, and to make the Chiefs of your Five Nations ready to go with us down to Montreal to make there the exchange of prisoners in his presence as was agreed by the Peace you made with him last year, because he has already had news of Sieur de Courtemanche that his allies will not fail to arrive there at that time. Do not, then, fail

on your side to do that which will fit in with that which has been arranged down there, so that your Father may smooth out all difficulties that remain, and make that solid peace which he, alone, can do. Do not delay to take all measures necessary to make good your word, and to enable us to leave at once: send representatives to the other Four Nations to advise them—hasten, too, to make as many canoes as you will need not to delay in the departure.

We have received word from France which assures us that the Great Onontio [i.e., the King of France], has become master of the whole kingdom of Spain by the death of the King who declared as his heir, the Duc d'Anjou, grandson of the Great Onontio: and, as that may revive the War between him and the King of England, in case the latter wishes to prevent you coming, you see the importance of not listening to him, and not engaging on his side, because you would enter on a War more formidable than the preceding one with Onontio and his allies—so be content if that does happen to let them settle their differences, you smoking quietly on your mat so as to keep open to you the road to Orange [i.e. the English] and that to Montreal [i.e., the French], and satisfy your needs in the chase without the Indian allies of Onontio troubling you. . . . . In case the English come to Onnontaguez to stir up their anger over the establishment at Detroit or the Iroquois are incensed at it, he will say to them:—

“If the English still want to make use of the establishment which your Father Onontio is going to have made at Detroit to make you distrustful of him, do not listen to them, for I assure you as he has already assured Teganissorens that he has no other views there than to keep peace between all the Nations of the Upper Country and you, so that if any trouble arises when you are hunting, the Commandant whom he will place there can accommodate all of either Nation on this side, just as did the Commandant at Fort Frontenac [the present Kingston, Ontario], last winter with the Nations hunting near there . . . . moreover, when you care to go to the Post, you

will be as well received there as at Cataraqui [another name for Fort Frontenac] and you will find goods at a reasonable price. . . ”

---

#### AN OLD ACCOUNT OF DETROIT AND MICHILLIMACKINAC

A well-printed volume, a small 8vo. of 221 pages, and intituled: *Relation par Lettres de L'Amerique Septentrionale (Annees 1709 et 1710) Editee et Annotee par Le P. Camille de Rochemonteix de la Compagnie de Jesus* was published in Paris in 1904. It is not quite certain who the author was; but I agree with the very competent editor, that there is a strong probability that it was a Jesuit Missionary Father, Antoine Silvy (1638-1711), who, born at Aix in Provence, educated at the Jesuits' College there, and, after being Professor at Grenoble and elsewhere, was sent as a Missionary to Quebec in 1673 and the next year to the Ottawas at Michillimackinac. After some years service at that Mission, he was sent in 1678 to Tadoussac, at the mouth of the Saguenay: in 1686, he accompanied the expedition of the French against the Hudson Bay Posts of the English, in the capacity of Chaplain to a small corps of Canadian troops: and in 1694, came to the Jesuit College at Quebec, where he filled different positions, among them that of Professor of Mathematics, until 1709, when he retired and occupied his remaining years in literary pursuits—this work, included.

Instead of following the usual course of consecutive narrative, the author adopted that of letters, purporting to be written for and sent to a correspondent in France, who had expressed to him a desire to be made acquainted with that part of America, particularly: the letters are without signature, but of the eighty-nine, fifty-six are dated from Quebec, forty-six in 1709, and ten in 1710: the rest are without place or date.

The story of these letters, so-called, is a curious one: it seems certain that P. de Charlevoix was acquainted with them, as considerable of their contents, some in the very words, is to

be found in his *Journal Historique*; and it is most probable that he took the manuscript to Paris, and that after his death in 1761, it was deposited in the College of Louis-le-Grand in that city. We find an authorization to print it, signed by the litterateur and antiquary, Moreau de Mautour, August 25, 1725, but it was not then printed—Mautour retouched the manuscript here and there, not changing the sense. The Company of Jesus was suppressed by the Parlement of Paris in 1762, and their goods ordered to be seized: the Abbé Chauvelin, a bitter enemy of the Jesuits, charged with part of this duty, had this with other manuscripts removed to the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Pres, and all the manuscripts were put up for sale in November, 1764. A learned Hollander, Gerard Meerman, bought the whole collection and the manuscripts were taken to The Hague, where they remained until 1824. In that year Sir Thomas Phillipps bought this manuscript, and took it to his home at Middlehill, and afterwards to Cheltenham, England. Sir Thomas dying in 1872, his representatives sold them to Germany, and they were placed in the Royal Library in Berlin. That Library placed them at the disposal for copying and printing of the editor: he performed his agreeable task of editing with annotations, the interesting work of his deceased Brother; and gave it to the printer at Versailles, July 26, 1903, "the Feast of Saint Anne, Patron Saint of the Province of Quebec."

And, after the lapse of nearly two hundred years, the firm of Letouzer et Ané of Paris issue this creditable volume written in old Quebec, when all the northern part of this Continent was French.

It is here proposed to give a translation of what the Reverend Father says concerning certain parts of Michigan.

#### MICHILLIMACKINAC

"Michillimackinac was founded as a Mission by Marquette in 1671 under the name of Saint-Ignace, not on the Island but on the north shore, opposite; but before the time of these letters, it had been brought to the Island. It was a town of

some size, with its three villages, French, Huron and Ottawa, a commercial centre and a Military Post. But when the former Commandant, M. de Lamotte-Cadillac, made a Post at the present Detroit, 'le detroit des lacs Huron et Erie', in 1710, he induced the Indians, as much as he could to come to that Post to trade: he called his Fort, Fort Pontchartrain. Some of the Indians went to Saint-Joseph in the Illinois country; but many to Detroit: in 1721, Charlevoix, writing from Detroit, said 'Michillinae is very much decayed since M. de la Motte-Cadillac has drawn to Detroit most of the Indians who were settled there, and especially the Hurons. . . . There are still retained the Fort and the Missionary Station'.

The account given in this book is Letter LII, dated at Quebec, 1710:—"The Ottawas inhabit the Post of Michillimakina, so noted for its situation. It is 30 leagues from the Saut de Sainte-Marie . . . . at 45 degrees, 22 minutes (N. L.) It is a tongue of land which stretches very far toward the west: an island which is opposite it has given the name, Michillimakina, when means the 'tortoise'<sup>1</sup> because it resembles in shape that very common animal.

"The Ottawas formerly lived at Chegomigon, which is 46 degrees, 20 minutes, on the shores of Lake Superior. The island I have spoken of, has been the dwelling place of one of their gods, called *Michabou*: the spot where he was born and where he taught the people there to fish—the people, they say, were formed from the foam of the lake, which brought forth both men and women through the heat of the sun, just as our common people imagine that stagnant water produces grasshoppers and snakes.

"The Post has a very advantageous situation: it has at the south, Lake Michigan and at the east, Lake Huron, which are divided only by an outflow from the former of about two leagues in length and the same in width. The former which is called Lake Michigan or Lake of the Illinois is about 200 leagues long: its shores are sandy and covered with all sorts

<sup>1</sup>Some make the word mean "place of the big lame person" or "place of the big wounded person"—*sub judice lis est.*

of brushwood and a tree they call 'Cottonwood': this grows in pyramid shape and bears a kind of apple, in which is found a sort of cotton, of no use. Many small rivers fall into the lake, especially from the east: there is a mountain, which the Indians call Sleeping Bear, on account of its shape: they say that after the Flood, their ancestors came in a canoe which was stranded here.

"There is abundance of all the necessities of life here, as well by reason of the abundance of Indian corn which grows well here, as by the white fish which are in plenty: moreover, all the canoes that come to trade in the forest with the Indians, put in here first; and they often find that they can trade with the Ottawas and other Nations with their merchandise—when they cannot do so, they leave for other parts.

"The Ottawas who live here are of four Nations, the Kiskakous, the Sinagaux, the Kinouches and the Nassaouakonetous: as they formerly lived to the north, they have the same customs as the other Indians, they operate on the nose and hang there a blue stone or some beads, and that is their greatest ornament.

"They place their dead on a scaffold, 7 or 8 feet above the ground, clothed and wrapped in bark, placing at their side their cooking utensils, Indian corn, gun, tobacco, and leave them in that position until the flesh is wholly consumed: then they scrape the bones and preserve them.

"As there are always French among these savages, they have become more seemly in their conversation, and more docile in their conduct: they always have a missionary.

"These Indians are brave, they are feared by the Iroquois and they can raise 500 warriors. Some of them have settled at Fort Pontchartrain like the whole body of the Hurons who used to live here with them: the customs of these latter Indians are different from those of the Indians I have so far told you of, and although they have been so near the Ottawas and, as it were, under their control, they have not changed them.

"I am, Monsieur, etc."

*Detroit*

Detroit was, as has been said, founded, in the sense that the French formed there a Military Post and a Trading Post, by M. de Lamotte-Cadillac in 1701, the Fort being called Fort Pontchartrain: he was the Commandant when these "letters" were written, and became in 1710, Governor of Louisiana.

What is said of Detroit is found in Letter LXXII, "Du Fort Pontchartrain et des Sauvages Hurons", without date or place. There were three Villages around the Fort, those of the Hurons, the Ottawas and, later, the Pottawattamies, respectively.

"A portion of the Ottawas and the Hurons live on the Straits [detroit] between Lake Huron and Lake Erie, near Fort Pontchartrain du Detroit, in which His Majesty [the King of France] has an officer in command of the troops. The soil and the climate are not so good as with the Illinois: the snow, however, does not lie more than five or six days at a time, and it is never more than a foot deep, when the snow-fall is the greatest: it is in January and February that it is seen on the ground.

"The Miamis and some other Nations come to this Post to trade: but all the peltries that come from that direction, that is, the South, are not considered as good as those of the North, not having sufficient fur—any more than the beaver which also has the defect that the skin is too thick. . . . . These Hurons have not a plurality of wives like the other Indians: they change them at will, and the women have the same right, so that one can fairly say that there are few men and women in that Nation that have not, some time or other, been married to each other. It is the girls that seek the men in marriage among this people; and they do not consider themselves married until they have children, for, up to that time, the husband and wife live in the cabin of their fathers, but when they have children, the husband must go and live in his wife's cabin.

"These Indians are always covered and take great care to conceal the parts decency forbids them to expose; both men

and women are hard-working and they sow a great quantity of grain with which they deal with the French and the other Nations.

"The women and girls are very clean after their fashion, but well oiled and combed: they do not tattoo or paint themselves: it is said that they are fond, too fond, of the boys, and readily grant them their favors during the night—when, it seems, everything is allowed. They are apt to poison themselves at the least disagreeable thing that happens to them: the men poison themselves, too, sometimes: they make use of the root of the hemlock or citron-tree to put an end to life, swallowing it.

"This citron-tree is a plant which appears in moist and shady places: it has only one shoot which produces a fruit somewhat like a small apple and is not disagreeable to the taste [apparently our Mandrake]: it is not harmful, but the root contains a very subtle poison: these Indians, however, take the precaution to vomit profusely to eject the poison.

"They bury their dead, all clothed and furnished with their war equipment, after having greased and painted them, so that, as they say, they will not go to the other world like beggars: they raise small mausoleums of wood over their grave, on which is cut their mark.

"These Indians have missionaries; and it can be said that they have received Christianity with fervor, and are good Catholics; it may be said, too, that the King [of France] has no more faithful adherents among the Indians: they can raise 60 warriors.

"The most competent interpreters recognize two mother-tongues among these Indians, with whom we are acquainted, for there are many others we know only imperfectly, and by the accounts of others, since the whole of America is filled with them in every direction.

"These two mother-tongues are the Algonquin, related to the language of the Indians of the Lakes; and the Huron, related to the Iroquois: nevertheless, the two differ only in pronunciation, accent and certain dialectical peculiarities.

"I am, Monsieur, etc."

## EARLY PERIL TO FRENCH DETROIT

In the first of four very interesting volumes written by the erudite and indefatigable Archivist of the Province of Quebec, M. Pierre-George Roy, intituled '*Fils de Quebec*', we find some account of a danger which the French in early Detroit narrowly escaped. I translate:—

"In 1712, the Renards [i.e. the Foxes] made a conspiracy with the Five Nations [i.e. the Iroquois] and the English to drive the French from Detroit. M. Du Busson, Commandant at Detroit, had replaced M. de La-Forest, successor to M. de Lamothe-Cadillac (who, as is well known, founded Detroit) who had returned to Quebec. That Officer [Du Busson] was brave and experienced but he had under his orders only some thirty French. And, to complete the difficulty, the Ottawas and the Hurons, who lived near Detroit usually, were away hunting, far from the Post. The situation was critical and had it not been for the arrival of M. Bissot de Vincennes, the Post of Detroit would certainly have been lost to the French. MM. Du Busson and Bissot de Vincennes reanimated the courage of their few French comrades, succeeded in attracting some Indian Tribes to their side and after a month of siege, during which neither besieger nor besieged had a moment of repose, succeeded in driving off the besiegers and killing some hundreds of combatants. M. Bissot de Vincennes it was who was in command of the Miamis of the River St. Joseph, when in 1715, a party of them established themselves on the River Maumee—the result of which settlement is historical; and he was the father of the heroic Francois-Marie Bissot de Vincennes, whom Indiana honors or should honor as its founder."

Detroit and its garrison had better luck than the sister Post, long closely connected with it, Louisiana, I continue to translate: "In 1736, M. de Bienville, Governor of Louisiana, organized an expedition against the Chicachas Indians, who had for some years, been giving the French trouble. The first detachment of his army which entered the territory of the enemy was commanded by M. Diron d'Artaguette; it was com-

posed of 130 French or Canadians, 100 Illinois Indians, and some Christian Iroquois. M. d'Artaguette had an easy success in carrying the first Chicachas Village; this success made him too rash, and he neglected the necessary precautions. In the second engagement with the Chicahas, he was utterly defeated; he, himself and most of his officers fell into the hands of the ferocious Chicahas; and the very day of the battle, twenty French and Canadian Officers were set apart to be burnt at the stake. Father Senat (a Jesuit Priest), M. d'Antaguette, de Vincennes, de Coulanges, de Saint-Ange, Du Tisne, de Tonty, d'Esgly, etc., tied to the stake were tortured three hours till midnight. Father Senat might easily have effected his escape during the battle but, a true soldier of Christ, he stayed with his unfortunate companions to give them the consolations of religion in their last moments."

---

PASTORAL MESSAGE OF THE BISHOP OF QUEBEC TO HIS PEOPLE  
OF DETROIT IN 1720

Monseigneur Jean de Saint-Vallier, the second Bishop of Quebec, was born at Grenoble, France, in 1653, studied at the College there and became a Priest in 1676. He came to Canada in 1685, as Vicar General, the first Bishop, the celebrated Monseigneur François de Laval, being infirm: on the death of de Laval in 1708, de Saint-Vallier became Bishop, having already governed his immense Diocese as "Evêque élu" for 23 years.

A man of great energy, he visited Europe thrice during his term, on one occasion being captured by the British and held prisoner in England for five years. He exercised a vigilant control over his people, having, *inter alia*, considerable success in checking the sale of liquor to the Indians: among the French Canadians themselves, he went so far as to instruct the Curés to refuse absolution to those who had Cabarets in their parishes. Other abuses he combatted, one of them the practice of girls and women having their necks and shoulders bare, or at most, covered with a transparent tissue. Almost his first

official act was to advise the Governor and his Lady to set their face against "the circumstance which makes the fashion of clothes in girls and women infinitely pernicious . . . the indecency and scandalous immodesty of the clothes . . . in the nudity of neck and shoulders . . . the cause of the loss of an infinity of souls". This admonition appears again and again, and the practice is always charged with causing the loss of an infinity of souls. (One is reminded of a modern prohibition from Churches regarding ladies with short skirts). Some, perhaps, will approve his admonition in his Pastoral to his Curés as to the conduct of their parishioners— while directing the Curés not to suffer the women to have the neck uncovered, he says "Represent to the women that they owe to their husbands as to their Lords and their Masters, honor, respect and obedience . . . ". So, too, he advised the Governor and his Lady to let their vivacious daughter have some amusement and allow her "some respectable and moderate dances" (*quelques danses honnêtes et modérées*), but to see to it that she danced with her own sex only and in the presence of her mother, no boys or men being admitted.

But we are concerned here only with his letter to his people in Detroit. Detroit having become a French outpost in 1701 under Cadillac, came within the Bishop's jurisdiction: no doubt he includes this Post in his numerous communications concerning the newly discovered lands, the Valley of the Mississippi, etc.

The letter reads (in translation as literal as the idioms of the two languages permit) as follows:—

PASTORAL LETTER

To the Inhabitants of Detroit

Jean, by the Grace of God and of the Holy Apostolic See,  
Bishop of Quebec.

To Our Very Dear Children the Inhabitants of Detroit,  
Salutation and Benediction in Our Lord.

The very great distance, I am from you, Our Very Dear  
Children, joined to the very great difficulty I find myself in

to send Priests to you, to administer the sacraments, induces me to bring to your minds by this Pastoral Letter, the indispensable obligation you are under to live a pure and Christian life, exempt from all the sins that might separate you from the Grace of God and His Love. If once you were bereft for a lengthened period of a Missionary, how could you reestablish the reign of God in yourselves if once you had destroyed it? This it is, that should make you keep with the greatest care the Grace of Jesus Christ and the living Temple, which should be in your hearts. It is right that we should exhort you to support the material Temple, which we learn is in a pitiable condition; and also the cemetery which you are leaving open, exposed to every kind of indecency by reason of the animals that enter it—you for that reason alone, deserve to be interdicted. But above all, We advise you to render real obedience to your pastor, whom it is of great importance to you to keep and make use of, no one here being in sight, secular or regular [i.e. a Priest not in one of the Orders, or one in an Order], to succeed him. To make this plainer to you, I place before you, these words of St. Paul in his First Epistle to the Thessalonians: *Rogamus vos Fratres ut noveritis eos qui laborant inter vos*<sup>1</sup>; We pray you, My Very Dear Children, with that Apostle, to give great consideration to him who is over you in the name of the Lord, who teaches you your duty, to have for him a particular veneration, because he labors for your salvation, to obey him in what he requires of you for the good of your souls, not to grieve him by importunate contradictions, not to force him to groan under the burden of his charge, for that would take away from you the means of deriving all the advantage of his attention and labors. If you do that, you will draw down the blessings of God, and you will give true consolation to a Father who cherishes you as much as you could desire it *in visceribus Christi*, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Given at Quebec under Our Seal, that of Our Secretary and

<sup>1</sup>This is I Thess., V. 12, in the Authorized Version reading—"And we beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you."

sealed with Our Seal of Arms, this eighth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and twenty.

(Signed) JEAN, Bishop of Quebec.

## THE ROMANCE OF A RAILWAY

BY ARTHUR S. HILL  
DETROIT

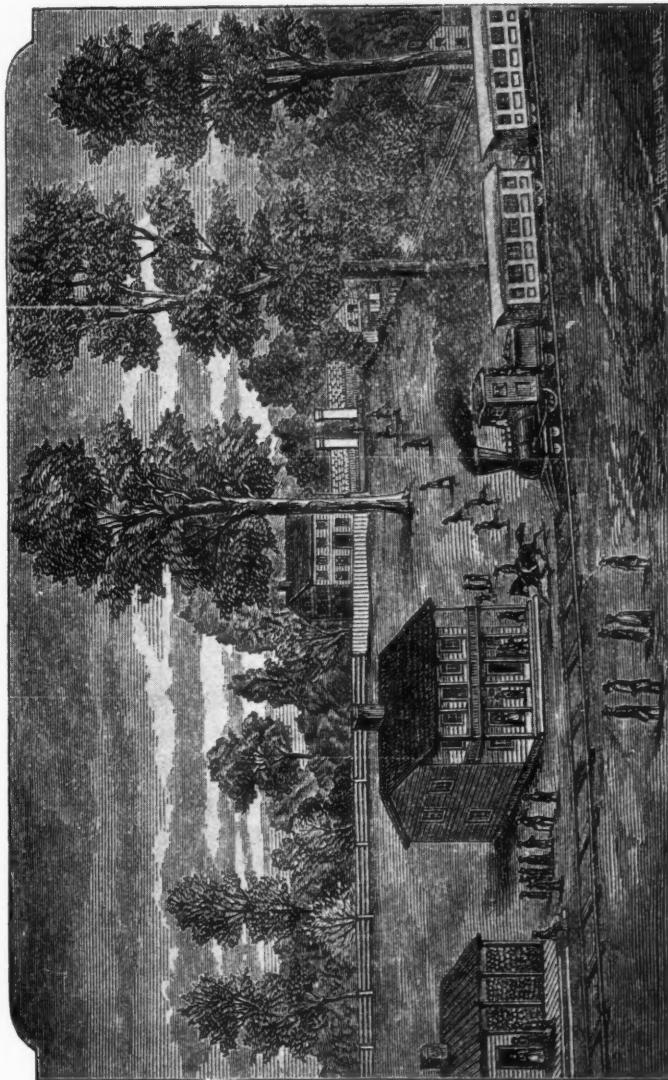
AT the time of the War of 1812, Michigan was merely the name of an apparently vast unattractive wilderness, settled only on the borders of the lakes that almost surrounded it. Of commerce there was little. Hardy frontiersmen, stationed at scattered trading posts, carried on an uncertain fur-trade that had been established by early French settlers, but several conditions rendered the further development of the Territory an extremely difficult undertaking. The report of a government survey in 1812 pictured the Territory as a vast swamp with only a few isolated spots fit for cultivation; and hostile Indians, probably spurred on by the British whose influence over the Northwest Territory was still greatly felt, did their utmost to make life as unpleasant as possible for the settlers. No doubt the government report was, to say the least, inaccurate, although there are even today a great many swamps in the southern part of the lower peninsula; but the menace of the Indians was a reality. However, the development of the territory was retarded most by lack of transportation facilities and not by the abundance of Indians. Despite the government report, the Territory had plenty of fertile soil, a seemingly exhaustless supply of lumber, almost limitless mineral wealth; and after the war, under the administration of Governor Lewis Cass, the Indians ceased to be a menace. The realization of all these advantages depended upon the solving of the transportation problem. In view of this, it is quite easy to understand the importance of the history of transportation in Michigan to the history of the State.

The opening of the Erie Canal and the invention of the steamboat partly solved the transportation problem of Michigan inasmuch as they gave the city of Detroit a connection with the East. But as the city of Detroit was only a part of the Territory, it remained for an internal communication

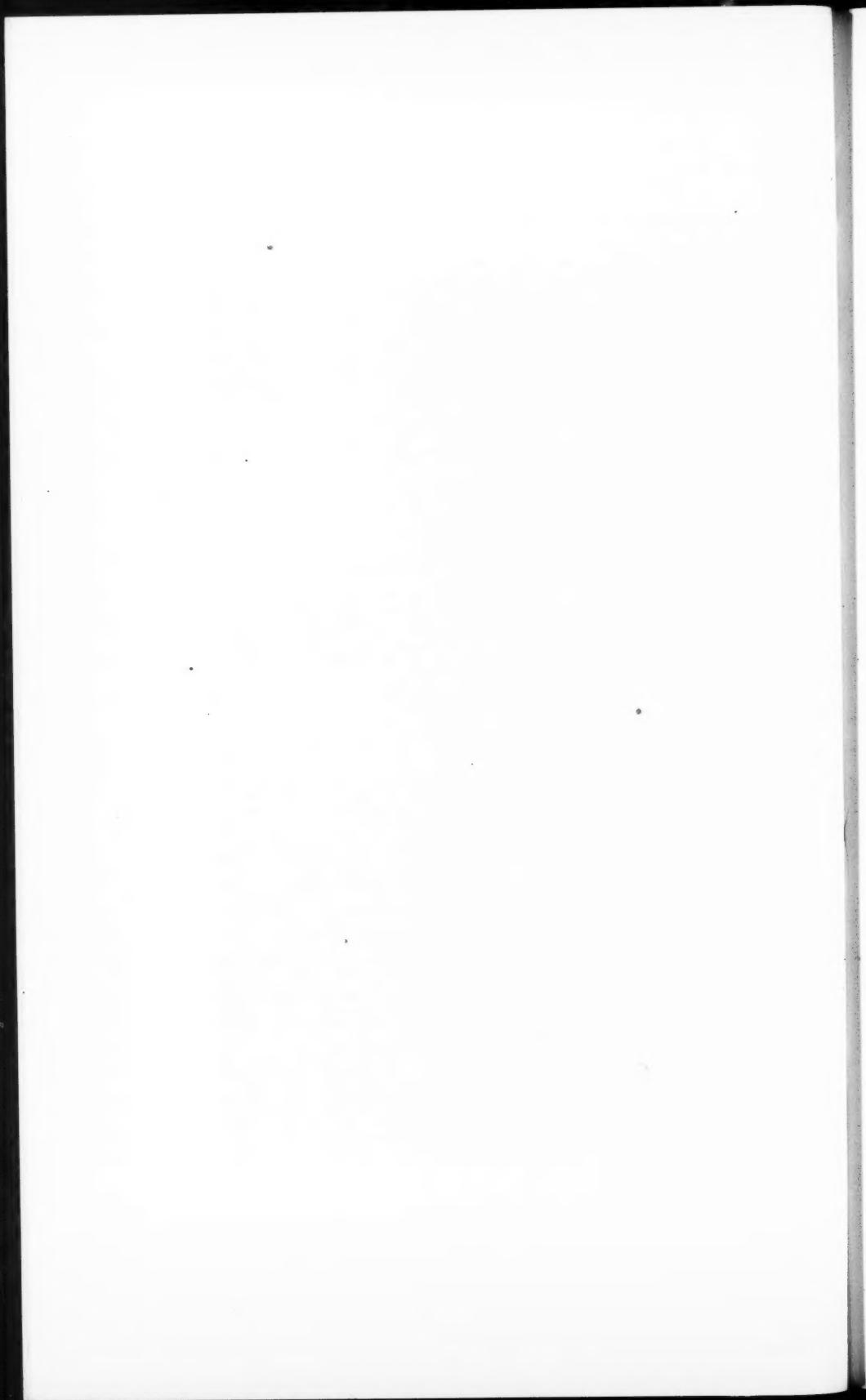
system to be developed in order to bring the rest of the Territory into vital touch with Detroit, and thus, the East.

Not only did the opening of the Erie Canal provide an outlet for the commerce of Detroit, but it shifted the line of westward migration from the Ohio Valley to the Great Lakes region. The huge proportions of this movement can hardly be appreciated unless one is confronted by some definite statistics. In 1818, the first steamboat on the Great Lakes, the "Walk-in-the-Water," made its maiden voyage between Buffalo and Detroit, bringing with it twenty-nine passengers. Twelve years later and five years after the completion of the Erie Canal, in 1830, between April first and May twelfth, 2400 emigrants, westward bent, arrived at Detroit. A year later 2000 arrived in a single week. Three years later, in 1834, 900 arrived in a day, and during the month of May 1836 alone, no less than 90 steamships arrived at Detroit.

This shifting of the line of migration brought with it new problems. As long as internal transportation was limited to stage travel and horseback riding, there would be no adequate means of transporting these emigrants to the rich farm lands of the interior, for the roads out of Detroit were few and wretchedly unfit for travel. The principal roads connected the city with Port Lawrence [Toledo] at the south, Chicago to the west, Pontiac and Mt. Clemens to the north. The road to Port Lawrence was built through swamps and was often under water. It took a week to make a round trip with a loaded wagon to Ann Arbor, and it was a full day's journey to Mt. Clemens. Most of the interior settlements had been made along the St. Joseph road. This road ran from Detroit through Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor, Jackson, and Kalamazoo to the mouth of the St. Joseph River. An earlier road, called the Chicago Road had been built and was still used, along the same route through Ypsilanti, and the southern tier of Counties. These roads were in reality but an extension of the Erie Canal. Formerly, the westward march had been through the Cumberland Gap to the Ohio, and thence via the Ohio to the West, but



DETROIT TO DEARBORN, 1837  
First train to run out of Detroit over the line which later became the  
Michigan Central Railroad.



now it was through the Erie Canal to Buffalo, across the lakes to Detroit, and thence through Michigan. However, the mere roads were not enough, especially considering their bad conditions. There was need for better transportation facilities and until this need was met it would be impossible to develop and to use to their full extent the natural resources of the Territory, and it would also be impossible to transport the westward bound settlers to take up the waiting farm lands in the interior of the Territory.

Probably no one realized the situation more clearly than the people of the Territory themselves. The farmers of the interior were handicapped because their products lacked a market and the people of Detroit saw their commercial activities remaining stationary for lack of a source of supply. This combination of circumstances began to voice itself in the newspapers. Early in the development of American railways the *Detroit Courier* asked that "the capitalists who had been so grievously disappointed in consequence of not obtaining stock in the Utica and Schenectady Railroad" buy stock to finance a Detroit-Chicago Railroad.

As early as 1830 a railroad from Detroit to Chicago was proposed, and in 1833 a company was formed and incorporated under the name of the "Detroit and St. Joseph R. R." to build a line from Detroit as the eastern terminus to the mouth of the St. Joseph River as the western terminus. It may seem strange to us today to think that the line should be planned to end at a mere spot on the map rather than to go around the end of Lake Michigan to Chicago. However, it is quite readily understood, too, how a rivalry between the two cities should be a barrier to the immediate extension of the line to Chicago, for a line to Chicago from Detroit would complete the link between Chicago and New York and thus possibly benefit the city on Lake Michigan more than Detroit. It was, undoubtedly, merely an earlier manifestation of the attitude taken by some of our eastern cities at the present time to the proposed deep waterway project for the Great Lakes.

The early company had among its chief stockholders men of state and national prominence, among them being no less personages than Lewis Cass, ex-governor of the Territory; members of the Newberry and Trowbridge families, members of which are still influential Detroit citizens; and E. A. Brush. The first company was almost without exception a local body of men whose interests in the project were not limited to mere financial returns, but who were inspired by the need of the hour to throw their energies and money into a project that was at least risky financially and at that time a tremendous engineering undertaking.

At the time of the incorporation of the Detroit-St. Joseph Railway, the line was a true pioneer in railroad building. Although many roads were contemplated at this time in various parts of the country, only three lines were in operation north of the Mason-Dixon line. One of these ran from Boston to Lowell, one from Boston to Worcester, and the other was the Albany and Schenectady line of which the *Courier* had so invitingly spoken several years before.

The raising of the necessary finances for the first road presents an interesting story in itself. Shares were sold by subscription at the modest sum of two dollars per share. The response was remarkable. It seemed as though the whole populace of southern Michigan realized the need of better transportation facilities, for in one day alone at Ypsilanti between eight and nine thousand dollars was invested. However, the building of the line required much money, indeed an enormous amount for those days when a dollar meant a whole day's wages to most people. In 1834 a survey of the line was made by a private company and the estimated cost was set at \$3,200 per mile. Realizing this great need of finances, the city of Detroit, through its council, subscribed on January 2, 1836 \$10,000 towards the line, and again on August 9, 1836, \$40,000 additional was invested. Hence, the city of Detroit became interested, in a rather vague way however, in municipal (or part municipal) ownership first away back in 1836, and

Pingree really only took second place as a proponent of city ownership of transportation facilities.

Progress on the road was slow, but this can readily be explained by the many obstacles that stood in the way of railway building in those early days. When we consider that railway building was a comparatively new engineering undertaking and that consequently there were few railway engineers and that little was known, through lack of experience, about the science of railway engineering, it does not seem strange that progress was slow. In 1836 only a portion of the grubbing and grading between Detroit and Dearborn was completed. This pace was evidently too slow to please the territorial government, for in 1837 a Board of Internal Improvement was established with a view of taking under state control all private railways, and other public utilities. The establishment of this board was probably greatly influenced by the opening of the Erie and Kalamazoo R. R. from Adrian to Port Lawrence (now Toledo).

The stretch of railway from Port Lawrence to Adrian was merely the first unit of a proposed line that would eventually run across the lower part of Michigan. In 1836 the first section of this road was in operation as far as Adrian and at first ran by horse power. Nevertheless, it was a great improvement over the rough highway traveling that had heretofore prevailed. In a short while, however, steam power was applied and Adrian began to be a very important city in southern Michigan. Alarmed by the diverting of Michigan commerce to Port Lawrence, an Ohio settlement, through the Erie and Kalamazoo line, the people living in the vicinity of Detroit and the proposed St. Joseph R. R. began to clamor for more haste in the completion of the line. Consequently, in 1837, under provisions enacted in the law creating the Board of Internal Improvement, the state of Michigan paid \$140,000 for the charter and the property of the Detroit and St. Joseph Railway Company. Thus, in the same year that Michigan came into

statehood, it also came into possession of its railway system, such as it was.

Michigan came into possession of the St. Joseph Railway in the height of a period in which the rapid development of science in transportation problems was far outstripping the ability to put these developments into practical use. The opening of the Cumberland Road, giving new possibilities of rapid development and settlement of the new West, had been almost overshadowed by the completion of the Erie Canal; a few years later while the development of canals was still in its infancy the steam railway was introduced, and together they created a situation that stands alone in the history of our country. Men were almost stunned by the opportunities that were promised in the new advances in transportation. It seemed as if it was far too great an undertaking for private capital, and states were plunged into internal communication construction schemes on almost wholesale orders. Ohio built a canal from the lake to the Ohio River; numerous canals were built, half built, and projected along the eastern coast line; a canal and railroad combination connected Pittsburgh with the eastern states, and altogether, it was a period of great, though thoughtless and generally recklessly inclined, development in the country's transportation system.

In accordance with the general trend throughout the country, Michigan ventured on a vast project of internal communication. Railways were planned, canals projected: no thoughts or fears for the financing of them seem to have been entertained. Three railways were to have been built across the lower peninsula: one, the Central, from Detroit to the mouth of the St. Joseph River as already planned by the St. Joseph R. R. Co; one from Monroe to a southern point on Lake Michigan; and another from Port Huron and continuing westward. Canals were also planned to make a complete network throughout the State. One of these canals, designed to connect the Clinton with the St. Joseph River, was actually started from its eastern terminus at Mt. Clemens, at a huge expense (the

cost was \$400,000, and only \$90.32 was collected in tolls) some of which was undoubtedly unnecessary. It was continued west as far as Utica, where, for lack of funds, it was abandoned.

The history of the Central Railway under state supervision was more colorful than successful. Although financially a success, it was far less of a success as far as service was concerned. The road as acquired by the State amounted to little more than a charter, and upon the State fell the burden of financing the construction of the line. Work was valiantly pushed forward, and by February 1838 the line was completed as far as Ypsilanti. Great rejoicing attended the opening of the line. The Governor and state officials, as well as the city fathers and the "Brady Guards"—at that time the city's chief noise-making harmonizers—took the first trip to Ypsilanti where a grand celebration, colored with speeches by the Governor and a public barbecue, took place in honor of the establishment of railway service in Michigan. The first passenger car was named after the Governor, "Governor Mason," and seated 66 passengers. The engine was a little puffing affair which broke down at Dearborn on the way home—probably the excitement of the day had been too great for it—the party being towed in by horse power. Regular service was established after this between Ypsilanti and Detroit, the fare being set at \$1.50 and the running time at 1 $\frac{3}{4}$  hours, an average of about 18 $\frac{1}{2}$  miles per hour—a favorable comparison with some of our modern short lines.

There was at this time no depot in Detroit for passengers, but at the site of the present city hall, where the old Chicago Road met the road to Pontiac, a rambling, dilapidated, one-story shack served the purpose of general headquarters of the railway and freight depot combined. Beside the depot was the old Seminary Building, a stately old structure of three stories, making a violent contrast with the antiquated depot beside it. Several years later, when the Detroit and Pontiac road was built, the district of the present city hall became the railway

center of the city; across from the Central R. R. depot, near the site of the Detroit Opera House, was built the depot of the Pontiac Road (now the Grand Trunk), and next to it stood the Railroad Hotel.

From this terminus the line extended out the Chicago Road (Michigan Avenue). A line down Woodward Avenue to the River was contemplated and actually constructed by private parties, but owing partly to the difficulty in pulling loaded cars up the steep grades, it was abandoned. During the winter of 1838, service was frequently interrupted by the tracks being covered by ice along portions of the line; however, the road persevered through all of its shortcomings, and on May 19, 1838, about three and one-half months after the opening of the line, the *Detroit Journal and Courier* carried the following account:

"The cars on the road now make two trips a day between Detroit and Ypsilanti. They leave the depot on the Campus Martius every morning at six o'clock and every afternoon at half past one o'clock; Ypsilanti, every morning at ten o'clock, and every afternoon at half past four o'clock.

"It is gratifying to know that the freight and travel on this State road are increasing rapidly. The average receipts for several days past have been upwards of three hundred dollars per day—"

A unique custom of selling cars to private individuals was introduced soon after the establishment of service between Detroit and Ypsilanti, and many Detroit business firms invested in private freight cars for the transportation of their merchandise.

Construction between Ypsilanti and Ann Arbor progressed more slowly and it was not until October 17, 1839 that service was inaugurated between Detroit and Ann Arbor. As in the case of the completion of the line to Ypsilanti, a huge celebration greeted the arrival of the first train at Ann Arbor; the Detroit city council, the ever-faithful Brady Guards, and a

delegation of leading citizens accompanied the train on its first trip, which this time was unmarred by any mishaps. Jackson was reached with appropriate ceremonies on the 29th of December, 1841. A regulated system of stage left Jackson at specified times for Chicago, establishing an improved line of communication from Detroit to Chicago. In 1846 the line was completed as far as Kalamazoo with stage and boat connections to Chicago. Including 50 miles of steamboat travel, the fare to Chicago was set at \$6.50.

On October 21, 1842, two new locomotives and a new passenger car, christened "The Kalamazoo," were put into service, and as far as is known from the time the first train ran to Ypsilanti until the State finally sold the railway, these additions were the only improvements made on the line outside of the extensions themselves. However, this must not be misunderstood as a reflection of the impracticability of state ownership of railways, for in each year that the State had control of the lines a substantial profit was realized.<sup>1</sup> The reason that this profit was not employed to make improvements on the line is perhaps explained by the fact that the profits derived from the operation of the railroad were dissolved in the liabilities accruing from other and less sound institutions secured by the State under the act creating the Board of Internal Improvements. The Clinton-St. Joseph River Canal had been an expensive failure, and the Southern Railway line, which had been started and completed for only a very short distance west of Monroe, was wholly a liability on the hands of the State. To make matters worse, Michigan, in the years immediately following its admission to statehood, was in a grave financial status. The national panic of 1837 did not fail to make its effects felt in Michigan, and numerous banks which had found their origin in Michigan's rather liberal banking law went bankrupt with steady regularity. Shortly before the sale of the Central Railroad, state bonds sold at \$18 to

<sup>1</sup>These profits were as follows: 1838—\$37,283. 1839—\$16,703. 1840—\$20,637. 1841—\$25,655. 1842—\$63,075. 1843—\$75,026. 1844—\$12,730.—Farmer, *A History of Detroit and Michigan*.

\$1.00 in New York, and the State was absolutely without credit. Little wonder, then, that little improvement was made in railway service and that few repairs were made on the property of the line. It is, indeed, almost a miracle how the line continued to grow westward in the face of such difficulties.

The statement has been made that politics kept back the improvement of the line. To whatever extent this is true, the fact remains that in 1846 when the State was in bankruptcy, the Central Railroad was one of the very few salable assets belonging to the State. Realizing this, state authorities perceived a way to make the State solvent again, and in the year 1846, the Central Railroad was sold to a company of eastern capitalists for the sum of \$2,000,000.

No account of the Michigan Central Railroad would be complete without a liberal mention of the man greatly responsible for its early success, James F. Joy, father of Henry B. Joy, who is today one of the men who are responsible for Detroit's industrial leadership. In the year 1810, James F. Joy was born in Durham, N. H. The son of a manufacturer, he managed to work his way through Dartmouth College, and later through the law school of Harvard University. Coming to Detroit in 1836, he joined in partnership with a man named Porter, forming the law firm of Joy and Porter. Mr. Joy was quick to realize the possibilities in his adopted State, and he likewise appreciated the necessity of an internal communication system for developing these possibilities. Consequently, in 1846, when the finances of the State were in a seemingly hopeless condition, James F. Joy saw in the State's one reliable asset, a splendid investment for a group of responsible capitalists. Aided by his acquaintance with eastern men, Mr. Joy was in a position to present his proposal to eastern capitalists, and in the same year Mr. J. W. Brooks, who afterward became the first president of the Michigan Central Railway at the request of the prospective purchasers of the road, gave a report on the merits of the line as an investment.

This report, while it does not throw a great deal of light on any new development in the history of the line, does substantiate what has been said of the railway under state ownership. According to Mr. Brooks' report, the superstructure of the line at this time was in very bad condition. The rails for the first 80 miles were only strips of iron,  $2\frac{1}{2}''$  x  $\frac{1}{2}''$  laid on wooden rails. Even these were in bad condition, as crude as they were even in the best of repairs. (Nearly all writers of early railroad history mention quite prominently the great danger in these early days of the metal strips curling up under the wheels and flying up through the floors of the cars with the general result of an injury and sometimes a fatality.) West of Jackson the road was provided with  $\frac{3}{4}''$  strips and consequently, the superstructure was much better, although in none too good condition. Mr. Brooks also pictured the line as having many unnecessary bridges with a great deficiency of depots.

Thus in 1846 the newly formed Michigan Central Railway Co. found themselves in possession of a charter, about 145 miles of track that had to be immediately relaid, three locomotives, two passenger cars and several freight cars, the value of all of which was set at the sum of \$2,000,000.

The charter was, in more than one respect, a presentation of demands rather than of privilege. In the first place, it was required that the company complete the line to New Buffalo within three years; secondly, the company was required to completely re-lay the entire road with iron T-rails. In the third place, the depot site had to be relocated, and lastly the company was given notice to re-lay its tracks entering the city by a more convenient route. In exchange for these requirements, the company was given an apparent monopoly over the east-west traffic from Detroit and southern Michigan by a clause in the charter which stated that no other railway starting from the east or south boundaries of the State should be built so as to approach within five miles of the Central, unless by the "Central's" own consent.

The authorizing of the line to New Buffalo was a new departure in the policy of the railway, and incidentally it may be taken as an evidence of the advantage of business-minded private ownership over the more politically inclined state control. Under state ownership, we have already seen how the western terminus of the line was set at a rather imaginary spot on Lake Michigan. Mr. Brooks in his survey, which was referred to in a previous paragraph, pointed out the importance of a direct connection with Chicago, and hence, instead of ending at a mere nowhere on Lake Michigan, the line was chartered to a point lower down on the lake from whence the acquisition of charters from Indiana and Illinois would make possible the extension of the line around the lake to Chicago.

The new Michigan Central Railway Company, with Mr. Brooks as its first president, lost no time in beginning its compulsory, although entirely necessary, improvements. The company took possession of the road on the 23rd of September, 1846. In 1847 a site for depot and dock space was procured at the foot of Third Street, construction being immediately commenced on a passenger and a freight depot, and in May 1848, passengers first came into the new depot and the old depot was abandoned. The establishment of the new depot at the foot of Third Street made it necessary for the company to find a new way of entering the city, as was also required in the charter. We are all probably well acquainted with the route of the present Michigan Central lines after they enter the city. However, few of us realize that for the past 75 years the trains have used the same route, and only in very recent years have they stopped at the new depot on 16th Street.

Although the route of the Michigan Central main line through Kalamazoo is practically the same today as that proposed by the original Detroit and St. Joseph Railway Company, several changes of minor importance were introduced for the sake of economy at the time that the rails were re-laid in compliance with the demands of the State in the charter.

These changes were made chiefly in order to do away with much unnecessary bridging and crossing of streams that was a great fault in the original line.

The first year of operation under the new company almost surpassed the fondest expectations of its success. The total earnings of the line were over the two hundred thousand dollar mark; and total costs, despite an extensive building and repairing program, were far below half the amount of earnings. The director's report showed that the line, during its period of private ownership, had been extended thirteen miles beyond Kalamazoo to Antwerp.

The Director's Report of 1848 shows the beginning influence of the railway on the development of the State. In this year, which was only the second year of the line under private ownership, the receipts of the line almost doubled over those of the previous year, about  $\frac{5}{8}$  of the earnings being receipts from freight carried on the line, and most of the rest from passenger traffic. Such a vast increase in freight transportation could mean but one thing; Michigan was beginning to assert herself as an agricultural producer. As we have no light on the proportionate value of transportation costs to the full value of the goods transported, we can make no estimate of their value. However, it is a fact that in the space of ten years, the establishment of the Central Railroad had made from a mere agriculturally self-supporting State, an exporting State of some significance.

Another significant fact was revealed in the great number of passengers carried during the year. This number amounted to over eighty thousand in 1848, a marvelous number considering that the line was not yet complete even to Lake Michigan, and a fact which clearly illustrates the vast proportions of the great western movement that was going on at the time.

In the same year (1848) the foresight of the company officials was again made manifest; for the president, Mr. Brooks, in his report, announced that the new policy of the company, although pursued with much reluctance, would be to start a

steamship route from Buffalo to Detroit in order to facilitate a more efficient system of continuous communication between Chicago and the East. Although no special provision to this effect had been put in the charter, the company found it almost necessary to take a chance in establishing the boat line, for the numerous steamship companies which were in control of the Buffalo-Chicago traffic at this time had formed a consolidation in order to combat the railway, whose line to Chicago threatened to undermine their business.

As we look back upon the early days of railroading we are too easily led away by our own ideas of the importance of the railways, and we fail to realize that strong forces worked against the building of the roads as well as for them. The construction of a railway line was more or less (generally more) of a gigantic struggle with the opposing affected commercial interests. From this time forward this was especially true of the Michigan Central line, the first big struggle being with the steamship companies. With the prospect of the speedy completion of the road to Chicago, the steamship owners saw the establishment of a speedier and shorter route between Chicago, the metropolis of the West, and the eastern seaboard. Hence, to protect themselves, they formed a loose combination to inflate the fare from the East to Detroit to an enormous amount in proportion to the fare around to Chicago, thus making it cheaper to go by boat all the way to Chicago rather than by boat to Detroit and the remaining distance by rail. In our day we would laugh at going away around the lakes to a city only three hundred miles away by a direct rail route, unless it were for pleasure; today passenger steamship travel from Buffalo to Chicago has almost disappeared from the lakes. The only way to combat the difficulty was to start a rival line; and in 1849, after the completion of the line to New Buffalo, the steamship "Mayflower," up to this time the pride of the lakes, made her maiden voyage as a part of the ever-growing Michigan Central Railway System.

About the same time that the Central road was sold to the Boston capitalists, the Southern was also sold to another company. The Southern line was also pushed forward, and when in 1849 the Michigan Central had reached New Buffalo, the Southern was pushing forward by a more southern route to Chicago. Seeing danger in the aggressive policy of the Michigan Southern, the directors of the Central decided to attempt to buy out the Southern. While these attempts were being made, docks were constructed at New Buffalo and a line of boats met the trains, making a direct route from Detroit to Chicago. With the opening of the steamship line to Buffalo, the Michigan Central Co. controlled a direct route from east to west, from the Atlantic to Chicago. However, the route was a broken one, involving both rail and steamship travel, and the attempt of the Southern line to make a complete rail route to Chicago was a grave menace to the control of the route from east to west by the Central line. There were only two courses possible to follow, one to buy out the Southern, and in case of the failure of this plan; the other course was to beat them to Chicago.

It soon became apparent that the first course was impossible; the Southern company evidently realized the importance of their line, and either because they wished to hold out for a higher price or else because they really thought that they would profit to a greater extent through operation rather than by selling, the offer of the Central Company was refused, a decision which resulted in one of the most spectacular railway construction races that has ever been witnessed.

As has already been pointed out, due to the foresight of the directors of the Michigan Central Railway Company the line was designed to be eventually completed to Chicago. New Buffalo, the western terminus in 1849, was the southernmost settlement of the State on Lake Michigan, and consequently further construction in the direction of Chicago had to be preceded by a grant of a charter through Indiana. This was not forthcoming however, and once again local state commercial

protection held up a great interstate project; for a charter to cover approximately the same territory that the Central required had been already given to an Indiana company, the Northern Indiana Railroad, who however had not yet taken advantage of their privileges. Immediately, Mr. Joy, solicitor for the Michigan Central Company, began negotiations with the Indiana road for the purchase of their charter. The Northern Indiana Company offered to sell for \$50,000 and the matter was referred to the Board of Directors of the Michigan Central line by the investigating committee. To make the argument for the buying of the Indiana road more forcible, this committee happened to predict that within 20 years Chicago would have a population of 200,000. This prediction sealed the doom of the plan to buy the Northern Indiana line, for the directors of the Michigan Central Railway did not seem to be able to stretch their powers of foresight far enough to give credit to this prophecy after which all justified its prediction and even surpassed itself in fulfillment. The inability to give credence to this prophecy evidently shook the faith of the directors in the remainder of the report, and the plan was abandoned in order to again seek a charter from the State of Indiana.

Almost as soon as the Central refused to buy the Northern Indiana charter, the Michigan Southern grasped at the opportunity to gain a step on the Central in the race to Chicago by purchasing the line that the rival road refused to buy. Their next step was to turn their attentions to the protection of their interests in Indiana, and the result was a spectacular struggle between the opposing forces in the legislative houses of the State. Not to be outdone, the Michigan Central retaliated by a suit against the Southern Company in Michigan, the Central alleging that the Southern had violated the Michigan Central charter by running within five miles of their lines and that, due to the fact that the Central paid for privilege as well as property when they bought the line from the State, they should have a preference in railway legislation. The

Michigan Central lost in both States, and for a time the prospects for the Southern looked very rosy and for the Central they loomed very dubious indeed.

The policy of the Central road must have been "Never say die," for they immediately "came back" with a clever, though somewhat expensive scheme. Another road, The New Albany and Salem Company, held a charter for this territory in Indiana as well as the Northern Indiana Company, although this charter had been intended for a north-south line. By making several simple and entirely lawful changes in the charter, it was found that it would be possible to build under its provisions a road across the desired corner of the State of Indiana. The only drawback to the scheme was that the New Albany and Salem Company demanded \$500,000 for the use of their charter. This was ten times the amount asked for the Northern Indiana charter. Seeing that this was a last resort to the completion of the road, the Michigan Central Company accepted the offer with the explanation that they were now more able to pay \$500,000 for the New Albany and Salem charter than they were before to pay \$50,000 for the Northern Indiana charter.

The problem of obtaining a charter in Indiana settled, the Michigan Central hastened progress on the extension of their line to Michigan City while the charter was being procured for the entering of Illinois. In 1850 the line was partly completed to Michigan City and meanwhile the fight for a charter in Illinois went merrily on. It appears that the Illinois Central Railway already had a charter for practically the same route that the Michigan Central was after. The case for the Central was argued by the future president, Abraham Lincoln, and the case against it by Schuyler Colfax, afterward vice-president. Even the unsurpassed argumentative oratory of Abraham Lincoln at this time failed to impress upon the good fathers of Illinois the necessity of allowing the Michigan Central a charter, and once more the directors of the Central found themselves looking at the blank wall of a state boundary.

Once more, however, the "never die" spirit aroused itself and, in place of warfare, compromise was resorted to with the result that the Illinois Central came to very friendly terms with the Michigan Central Railway. The Central was given the privilege of coming into Chicago from the south through Indiana and the two companies even agreed to use the same depot in Chicago. This was the beginning of a friendly co-operation between the two roads which continues even today. Thus, on May 20, 1853, the first Michigan Central train pulled into Chicago from Detroit one day ahead of the first train of the Michigan Southern line from Monroe. However, the victory belonged to the Central, for they had successfully thwarted attempts to deprive them of the privilege to complete their line from Detroit to Chicago, and after all the presence of another line to Chicago meant little to the Central for they still controlled the route from Buffalo to Chicago, while the Southern was confined to the route from Monroe to Chicago.

Meanwhile other developments had arisen which tended to strengthen the Central's control of the route from the East to Chicago. In the first place the struggle with the steamship combination was won. The task had been a hard one, for at first the steamship companies put up a hard fight. The lowest fare that the Michigan Central officials found possible for the boat trip from Buffalo to Detroit was \$5.00. In retaliation, the steamship companies asked only the same amount for the entire trip to Chicago. Nevertheless, by giving excellent service and maintaining a gradual reduction in fares, the Michigan Central Co. was able to make their steamship line highly successful, both from a financial standpoint and a standpoint of service and efficiency. In 1857-58, Johnston's "Detroit City Directory" said that the boat travel from Buffalo to Detroit "relaxes the weariness of the traveler and dissipates the dull monotony of the several hundred miles of jolting railway travel." The same publication, describing the design of the boats—there were three of them at this time, the

"Mississippi," the "Plymouth Rock," and the "Western World" comments especially upon the bridal chamber which "we advise every young man to look at." Evidently the Niagara Falls honeymoon trip has quite a tradition back of it. In 1858, for reason of developments discussed in the succeeding paragraph, the boat line was discontinued and the boats sold.

Along with the development of the line westward came the problem of connecting it with the East at Buffalo. A company was organized in Canada to connect Windsor with Niagara Falls, and it was incorporated under the name of the "Great Western Railway Co." There seems to have been some connection, or at least an understanding, between the Great Western Company and the Michigan Central Company; for, as early as 1851, the president of the latter company urged the stockholders to subscribe to the stock of the Great Western line. Not to go into details, the Western line was completed in 1854 and thus, a new route, completely by rail, was opened between the East and the West. Though this line afterward became the Grand Trunk Ry. and severed whatever connection it may have had with the Michigan Central, it served as a feeder to the Central for a good many years, playing a great part in the success of the Michigan Central Railway.

Although no branch lines were constructed by the Michigan Central Company until later years, the foundations of these lines were being laid even in 1850, when private companies began the construction of plank roads from the important centers on the line to the interior country. These roads were built leading into Jackson, Battle Creek, Kalamazoo, and other villages and towns along the line, and while they were in no sense connected with the Michigan Central Railway financially, like the Great Western Railway and as feeders to its main line they contributed greatly to its success.

In the fifteen years of private ownership up to 1862, great strides had been taken forward by the Michigan Central Company. From a mediocre line of about 85 miles of poorly constructed roadbed, three engines, two passenger cars, and a few

freight cars, it became a vital part of the life of the State, with 282 miles of track laid with the most modern T-rails, over 65 locomotives, 85 passenger cars, and 1284 freight cars. The telegraph system of dispatching trains had been adopted and the line was modern in every respect. The depot built in 1848 was replaced by a large one in 1865, and for years this station was a landmark of old Detroit.

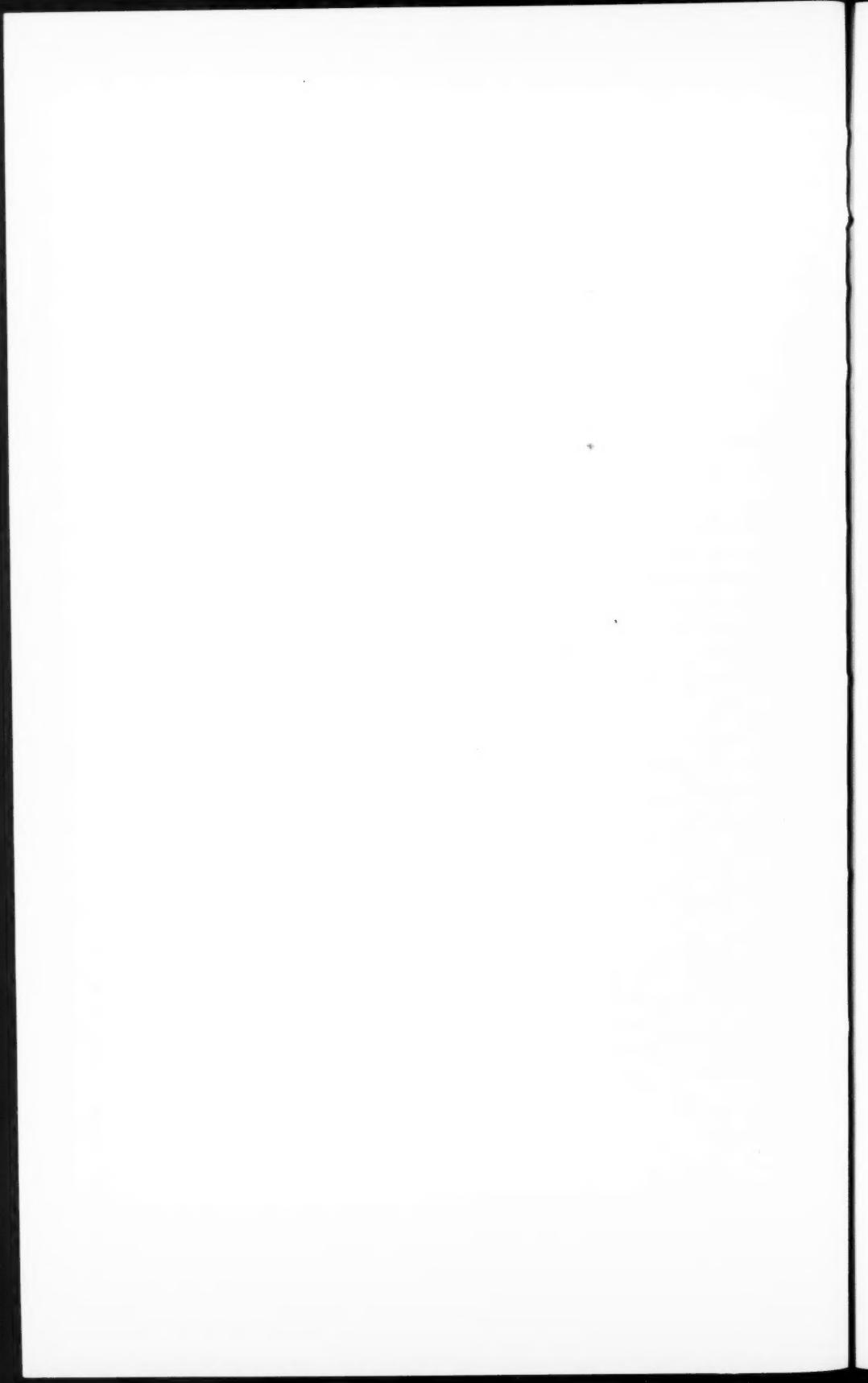
At the opening of the Civil War the Michigan Central Railway was in every sense of the word all and more than had been hoped for by the early citizens of Detroit when a railway was first planned. In 1830, as we have already seen, the farmers of the interior lacked a market for their produce, and Detroit remained unimportant commercially because she lacked a source of supply. The year 1805 found the State a flourishing agricultural exporter and Detroit a hub of commerce. Probably no one organization was more responsible for this vast change that took place in the short space of 25 years than the Michigan Central Railway.

Not only did the railway build up the commerce of Michigan, but it also built up industrial centers and was the impetus of growth for many thriving little cities. In 1840 Jackson, Albion, Marshall, Niles, Kalamazoo, Ann Arbor, and Ypsilanti were, at the most, dots on the map. In 1855 they were all centers of population in their respective counties. The following is a table of population taken from Johnston's "Detroit City Directory" for 1857-58:

Ypsilanti .....	4000
Ann Arbor .....	6000
Jackson .....	5000
Albion .....	3000
Marshall .....	4000
Kalamazoo .....	6000
Niles .....	4000

And thus, the value of Michigan's pioneer Railroad to the upbuilding of the State can scarcely be estimated, and to the

men who were responsible for its beginnings, its extension, and its success must we give credit for being real builders of Michigan.



JEWS IN MICHIGAN  
By DR. LEO M. FRANKLIN  
Rabbi of Congregation Beth El  
DETROIT

ALTHOUGH it is known that Jews expelled from Spain accompanied Columbus on his voyage of discovery, and though tradition has it that a Jew was the very first white man to set foot upon American soil, no considerable settlements of Jews are found in this country until about the middle of the seventeenth century. Such settlements, however, were to be found very early in the Eastern seaport cities. It is not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that we are able to find any trace of Jewish settlers in the North and Middle West. Even then the Jewish population was sparse and scattered, and no good sized communities are met with west of the Alleghenies until early in the 20's. By that time Jews had come in considerable numbers to many of the larger cities, and in 1824 a congregation, from which later sprang the large and influential B'nai Israel Congregation, was organized at Cincinnati. This may be regarded as the pioneer Jewish congregation in the Central West.

It was a full quarter of a century later than that before Jews in any considerable numbers made their way into Michigan, so that it is not until the middle of the nineteenth century that we find authentic records of their being in this state. Even then they were few in number, and to a large extent interrelated. Those who came were mostly of that sturdy Bavarian stock, who equally schooled in books and in hard experience, have ever been stubborn in their maintenance of truly Jewish life and ideals. Among the earliest comers to this state, we find prominent mention made of the names of Silberman, Hersch, Cohen, Freedman, Heineman, Cozens, Słoman, Prell, Amberg, Sykes, Frankel and Kanter.

Not all of these were here at the very beginning of Jewish activities in Michigan, and as none of these pioneers are at

present living, an absolutely accurate list of the earliest settlers in the order of their coming is not to be obtained. A recently discovered manuscript, however, shows that the following were signers of the constitution of the first Jewish congregation in Michigan: Jacob Silberman, Solomon Bendit, Joseph Freedman, Max Cohen, Adam Hersch, Alex Hein, Jacob Lang, Aaron Joel Friedlander, Louis Bressler, C. E. Bressler. Most of these people came poor, many of them having scarcely any other possession than the peddler's packs which they carried. But they came in search of that spiritual freedom and that political equality which had been denied them in the land of their birth. America was to them the Land of Promise, and though they had cherished memories of the land of their fathers, they realized that this must be the land of their children. Hence from the very first they dedicated themselves with loyal devotion to the service of this country, and it is recorded that the first day that they could legally do so, members of this group applied for their first papers as American citizens.

*Congregational Organization.* The first Jewish organization in Michigan of which we have any record is Congregation Beth El (originally Bet El, meaning House of God). Traditions differ as to the circumstances that led to the formation of this congregation, which in point of age takes first place among the congregations of the Northwest. However, well authenticated accounts are to the effect that its organization was directly due to the advent from New York of a couple by the name of Isaac and Sophie Cozens. They arrived in Detroit at the beginning of the year 1850, and at once took up their abode at a house near the corner of Congress and St. Antoine streets, where a few months later the first *minyan* (an assembly for prayer but not a regular congregation) held in the state of Michigan convened for worship.

It was directly due, so it would seem, to the zeal of Mrs. Cozens that the congregation was created. She had come here with her husband but a few months before. Caring

nothing for the physical hardships that she had to meet in a new land, but feeling that spiritual starvation was all too hard to bear, she gathered her few co-religionists together in her home and proceeded at once to organize the little band of Jews resident in Detroit, at that time a city of 21,000 population, into a congregation. This was early in the year 1850. The usual preliminary meetings were held, the usual ground of discussion gone over, differences that existed as to the mode of procedure were adjusted, and on the 22nd of September, 1850, the Beth El Society was organized. Joseph Newman was elected temporary chairman, but the regular election held shortly afterwards made Jacob Silberman the first president and Solomon Bendit the first vice-president of the new Congregation. Reverend Samuel Marcus, of New York, became the first spiritual leader of the Congregation. He fulfilled all the functions that then devolved upon the Orthodox Rabbis from killing the fowls to conducting the service, and all at no very princely salary. Naturally the Congregation was ultra-Orthodox at that time, and in truth, even in Albany where the first battles for Reform were so heroically waged by Isaac M. Wise, there were few who understood and less who sympathized with the movement toward Liberalism.

Writing of the situation among the Jews of that period, Dr. Isaac M. Wise says: "There were at that time six Jewish schools in all America. The school system in general was in a deplorable condition. Religious instruction was imparted one hour in the week by women. Leeser furnished all the text-books, all ultra-Orthodox. There were no Jewish charities with the exception of several decaying ones in New York. There was no provision for widows and orphans, no hospitals. In brief, American Jews had not one public institution except their synagogue. In lieu thereof the missionaries lay in ambush everywhere in order to bait some poor Jew. It was perfectly evident that Judaism in America would have no future unless mighty upheavals accompanied by constructive action would arouse the better elements into action, awaken and

attract the thoughtless and indifferent so that it would become reconciled with the spirit of the age and the opinions prevalent in the new Fatherland."

It is interesting to note that in the first constitution of the newly organized congregation it was said, "If the congregation secures a synagogue or other place for divine service, such services shall be held according to the German ritual, and this shall not be changed as long as the congregation exists under the name, Beth El."

The minutes of the organization do not show that this constitutional provision was ever officially changed, but it is quite certain that it was very soon disregarded, since very early in the history of the congregation the main service was rendered in English. Indeed the story of this congregation gives a very vivid picture of the progress of the Reform movement throughout the land. As early as the year 1861 a mixed choir and family pews were introduced. In 1865 the English ritual definitely substituted the German. In 1869 the "Tallith", or "prayer shawl", which is worn by Orthodox Jews was discarded. In 1889 Sunday services were introduced in the Temple.

Indeed this congregation may be said to have been a pioneer in the liberalizing of Jewish religious thought in the Central West. Among its leaders have been men of great renown, including Dr. Kaufman Kohler, who later became President of the Hebrew Union College; Dr. Henry Zirndorf, renowned historian and writer; Dr. Louis Grossman, who after serving as the spiritual leader in Detroit for forty years, became the successor of Dr. Isaac M. Wise at Cincinnati. The present incumbent, the writer of this article, will on January 24, 1939, celebrate the fortieth anniversary of his occupancy of this pulpit.

So quickly did reform follow reform in the congregation that by the year 1869 conditions became intolerable to the more conservative members of the group and in that year a considerable number of the members of the first congregation

withdrew and established a new organization to be known as Congregation Shaarey Zedek (Gates of Righteousness) in which the orthodox ritual was to be observed in its minutest details. The break became complete when the original congregation decided to introduce the organ into the synagogue and to worship with uncovered heads. Just as Beth El has continued to be the leading liberal synagogue in Michigan, so Shaarey Zedek ranks today as the foremost conservative congregation in this part of the country. The term, conservative, is here used advisedly for in its ritual observances there have taken place many radical changes.

But in the meantime many new orthodox congregations have sprung up, many of them having erected large and beautiful places of worship and others meeting in halls and other improvised edifices while certain other groups, having no buildings of their own, come together in rented quarters only on the high holy days. Religious organizations have also been established by the Jews in all the larger cities of Michigan. Most of them, particularly of the Reform group, are under the leadership of ordained rabbis. The latest to join this group is the congregation at Lansing, organized in the year 1933. Other recently organized liberal congregations are found in Flint and Pontiac. A Reform congregation is now in process of organization at Benton Harbor. The older congregations, both of the liberal and orthodox types, are to be found in Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, Bay City, Saginaw, Port Huron, Jackson, and Niles.

The more progressive of these congregations hold services on the eve of the Sabbath (Friday) or on Sunday morning. Those of the orthodox and conservative groups worship on the Sabbath morning (Saturday).

No account of the synagogal life of the state would be complete without mention of the Jewish Student Congregation of the University of Michigan. This congregation was called into existence in the year 1915 by Dr. Leo M. Franklin of Detroit. Its membership consists of the Jewish students of the

University. To its pulpit men of outstanding prominence in the Jewish ministry were invited from week to week and for many years its services were largely attended by both Jews and non-Jews. This was the first Jewish student congregation in America, if not in the world. In recent years, however, its activities have been taken over by the Hillel Foundation under the leadership first of Rabbi Adolph Fink, and more recently of Dr. Bernard Heller. This organization, which maintains a fine student house at Ann Arbor, is a rallying center for the religious, philanthropic, and cultural activities of the Jewish student. Similar organizations have been formed in many of the leading universities of the Country.

*Philanthropy.* It has always been the pride of the Jew that he has cared for the dependent classes of his own group. Indeed, to provide for the wants of the poor has always been considered one of the prime religious duties of the Jew. It is, therefore, not surprising that almost invariably some charitable society will be found to exist in a Jewish community almost from the beginning.

The cities of Michigan furnish no exception to this rule. Thus, in Detroit in the very year (1850) Congregation Beth El was established, we also find records of the founding of the Beth El Relief Society whose object it was to give food, clothing, and shelter to such impoverished resident or transient Jews as might come to the notice of the community. Like all charitable work of this early period, the activities of this first organization were carried forward wholly by volunteers and without regard to any of the rules which present day social workers regard as axiomatic. However, it was not long before there was recognized the need of a kind of specialization in social work and so group followed group in the organization of societies charged with special activities. Thus there was created The Society for the Relief of Jewish Widows and Orphans which functioned for many years under the leadership of Mrs. Emil S. Heineman.

Then, too, there came divisions between the Orthodox and

the Liberal groups, each of which established its own philanthropies and did its work in its own way. Special societies were formed to distribute matzoths (unleavened bread) to the worthy poor at the Passover season. Inevitably the result of this multiplicity of philanthropic organizations was duplication of effort, the complete pauperization of the poor, and inordinate overhead expense. Within two months of his coming to Detroit in January, 1899, Dr. Franklin recognized the inadequacy of this arrangement and called a meeting of representatives of all the groups to discuss the possibility of unifying all charitable efforts among the Jews. Hence it came about that in the fall of 1899 the United Jewish Charities was created to take the place of some nine societies that had previously functioned. Its first President was David W. Simons.

Very soon after its organization, through the generosity of Mr. Seligman Schloss, the Hannah Schloss Building was erected at 239 High Street as the headquarters of the new society. The building was a memorial to the donor's wife. Later a very large addition to it, including a gymnasium and other facilities, was added by Mr. Bernard Ginsburg, whose gift, however, was anonymous at the time.

In its new home the United Jewish Charities became a very telling agency for social, educational, and benevolent work. Its work with immigrants was particularly noteworthy, its emphasis being placed upon the preparation of newcomers for American citizenship. It housed in its building one of the first manual training schools in the state. Taking over at the time of its organization the work of what was known as the Self Help Circle, it carried on classes in all phases of domestic science and home-making. It established one of the first day nurseries in the state. Its Tri Square Club prepared for good citizenship hundreds of young men who today are leading citizens of Michigan's metropolis—many of them at present leading figures in all branches of philanthropic and educational work.

Practically all of this work was done by volunteer workers, only the directors having had professional training. Among those who have stood professionally at the head of the organization are Dr. Morris D. Waldman, now Executive Director of the American Jewish Committee, Dr. John Slawson, at present associated with the Jewish Board of Guardians at New York, Mr. Kurt Peiser now head of the Jewish Federation of Philanthropies of Philadelphia and the present incumbent Mr. Isadore Sobeloff.

With the coming of Dr. Waldman to take charge of the work, in the year 1926, many changes in methods and policies were initiated and the work was decentralized by the introduction of the district plan under which neighborhood offices took the place of the central building which up to that time had been the home of the United Jewish Charities. Soon thereafter the organization was broken up into several constituent bodies, each covering some special field of activity but all represented on the Board of Directors of what now became the parent organization, the Jewish Welfare Federation of Detroit. In this federation all groups within the Jewish life of the metropolis are represented. The constituent organizations include the Detroit Service Group, the Fresh Air Society, the Hebrew Free Loan Association, the House of Shelter, the Jewish Community Center, the Child Care Council, the Child Placement Bureau, the Children's Home, the Old Folks' Home, the Jewish Social Service Bureau, the Unemployment Emergency Council, the North End Clinic, the Mothers' Clinic, the United Hebrew Schools, the United Jewish Charities and the Resettlement Bureau.

From the beginning these Jewish agencies have cooperated closely with the Jewish Community Fund and what is now known as the Council of Social Agencies of Metropolitan Detroit.

The Welfare Federation and its constituent agencies employ several hundred persons in carrying out their program of social, educational, recreational, and relief work. A num-

ber of additional relief agencies of one kind and another, having their own memberships or which are supported entirely by private subscription, function along special lines.

Recently there has been established in Detroit, the Jewish Community Council, under whose auspices representatives of 175 organizations co-operate so as to avoid duplication of effort. A court of arbitration for the hearing and settlement of disputes among Jews is one of its chief functions. There are a number of special scholarship funds for the support of worthy students, among them the Temple Student Loan Fund and the Ruth Franklin Einstein Memorial Loan Fund. There is also the Temple Memorial Fund which is used for the relief of especially deserving persons who cannot be induced to apply for assistance to the regularly organized charities. The fund is supported very largely by memorial gifts which are given in lieu of flowers that would be sent to funerals.

The Hadassah, a branch of the national organization, was organized in Detroit in March, 1916. It is affiliated with the Zionist Organization of America and its purpose is to furnish funds for the maintenance of hospitals and clinics for the poor—both Jews and non-Jews—in Palestine. Its work has been most effective and far-reaching. Similar philanthropic work on a smaller scale is carried on in practically all the cities of Michigan where Jews are resident.

*Lodges.* While there are branches of a number of so-called Jewish Lodges in many of the cities of Michigan, the outstanding lodge organization is the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith with branches in Detroit, Flint, Lansing, Jackson, Grand Rapids, and Kalamazoo, as well as some other cities of the state. A.Z.A., a junior branch of the B'nai B'rith, is also found in a number of cities, its strongest branches being in Detroit and Ann Arbor. Pisgah Lodge No. 34, I. O. B. B., was organized in Detroit, May 14, 1857. It represented from the beginning the platform on which Jews of every shade of religious opinion might meet harmoniously and work together

for the common good. In the early years of this organization, practically every Jew of good character was a member of the lodge. This organization has created and continues to support a great many national organizations of a philanthropic character, among them the Jewish Orphans' Home at Cleveland, the National Hospital for Consumptives at Denver, Colorado, and a number of other institutions for the care of the sick, the orphaned, and the aged. It has also been a very active factor through its Anti-Defamation League in combating the spread of anti-Semitism and in preventing economic and political discrimination against the Jew. Because much of the work of the lodge has been taken over by other organizations, especially established for the purpose, the lodge, as a local institution, has in recent years lost much of its prestige, though as an international body it functions effectively in its particular field. Several years ago, a second B'nai B'rith Lodge, known as the Louis Marshall Lodge was established in Detroit. The membership of Detroit Lodge No. 55, Knights of Pythias is entirely Jewish. This Lodge is noteworthy for its excellent philanthropic work.

*Education.* Traditionally the synagogue has always been the representative unit of Jewish life. In its threefold character it has been *Beth T'filo* (House of Prayer), *Beth Hak'neseth* (House of Assembly) and *Beth Ham-Midrasch* (House of Study). Indeed, the term by which the synagogue is generally known among the more Orthodox Jews is "Schule", i.e. "school". The student among Jews was regarded as the chief man in the community and it was looked upon as a duty incumbent upon every member of the community to support him. The Jew's love for study has never abated and particularly among the older generation Jews come to the synagogue as frequently to study as they do to pray.

Jewish education began from the day that the child was old enough to understand the simplest teachings. On the day of its first appearance at school it was fed with sweet meats of all kinds to betoken the sweetness of knowledge. Hence it is

natural that in our own day education should play a great part in Jewish community organization. While the Jew does not as a rule believe in parochial schools, being on the contrary, an ardent friend and zealous supporter of the public school, he has yet always laid a great deal of stress upon religious education. Hence the School of Religion is with him a very important institution. Most congregations, both Reform and Orthodox, support well regulated Sabbath Schools with graded curricula organized upon the pattern of the public schools and conducted according to the best principles of modern pedagogy. In order to insure the best teaching, most Jewish religious schools pay the members of their faculties a regular salary. It is held that it is only under this plan that high standards of teaching can be maintained.

In Temple Beth El, Detroit, the religious educational system begins with children of kindergarten age and extends through college years. A plan similar to this has recently been introduced in Congregation Shaarey Zedek and it obtains as well in a number of the smaller cities of the state.

In addition to the education that is carried on by the schools which are integrally a part of the congregational organization there is a well established system of Hebrew schools throughout the state but principally in the metropolis where the United Hebrew Schools, under the direction of Mr. Bernard Isaacs, have reached a high degree of efficiency. These schools do not in any way interfere with the secular education of the child, their sessions beginning only after the pupils have been dismissed from the public schools.

The most ambitious and perhaps the most interesting experiment in Jewish adult education is that carried on by Beth El College of Jewish Studies in Detroit. This school, the outgrowth of a number of classes previously carried on by the Rabbis of Temple Beth El, was organized in 1925 under the direction of Rabbi Leon Fram. It has on its roster approximately 350 adult students of college grade. Its curriculum includes classes in Jewish History, Literature, and Philosophy,

the Hebrew Language, Customs and Ceremonies, Comparative Religion, Current Events, etc. This work is conducted along such fine academic lines that some of its students are given credit for their work in higher institutions of learning. The faculty of the college includes five rabbis and other professionally trained teachers.

*Clubs.* The oldest social club organized by and for the Jewish people in the state of Michigan was the Phoenix Club which came into existence in the year 1872. This club, whose membership has always been limited to a comparatively small group, afforded to its members the usual recreational facilities offered by a purely social organization. With the tendency to a greater emphasis upon out-door sports of all kinds, there was organized in the year 1920 the Redford Country Club, which began as a constituent part of the Phoenix Club. However, in the year 1920, for what seemed to be the best interests of both organizations, the two clubs were placed under separate governing Boards, though members of the older organization automatically became members of the new. Somewhat later the two clubs divided their interests and the Phoenix Club went out of existence. Other Jewish social clubs have since been organized, especially the Great Lakes Club and the Standard Club.

In 1926 the Redford Country Club bought a magnificent tract of land near Franklin, erected an unusually fine club house, laid out a golf course of eighteen holes and thus established itself as one of the leading country clubs of the district. Its name was at that time changed to the Franklin Hills Country Club. It offers to its members all sorts of out-door sports in the form of golf and tennis, as well as the usual recreations which are part of any well-organized social club.

The Knollwood Country Club, organized somewhat later, offers similar recreational opportunities to another group of the Detroit Jewish people. It also has its own very beautiful Club House.

These two represent the only distinctly Jewish country clubs

in the state. Both of them, however, include in their membership a few persons not of the Jewish faith.

Outside of the organizations named there are a vast number of smaller social clubs in Detroit and throughout the state. It is significant that country clubs have been organized by Jews only in those communities in which anti-Jewish prejudice made it difficult, if not impossible, for Jews to become members of existing country clubs.

*Jews in Business.* There are few lines of commercial activity in which the Jews of Michigan do not participate. They are to be found in the fields both of the wholesalers and the retailers and rank in full proportion to their total numbers alike with the manufacturers, the middlemen, and the jobbers. Contrary to popular opinion, many Jews are artisans and handcraftsmen and they are found in large numbers at the work benches in the leading automobile factories as well as in other manufacturing plants.

We find in Michigan also a considerable number of Jews pursuing farming as an occupation. In the year 1883 at the time when the great Russian pogroms drove Jewish victims to this country by the thousands, many of them settled on farms. Such a colony was established near Bad Axe, Michigan, under the supervision of Emanuel Wodic. Though the land on which some fifty families were settled was not particularly good soil, and although the implements with which they had to work were scarcely adequate to their needs, this colony by dint of industry prospered considerably, and after fifty years some of these original settlers and in other cases, their children, are still living on the land on which they were originally settled while others have adopted farming as a means of livelihood in other sections of this state and of other states.

*Jews in the Professions.* There is none of the professions in which Jews are not largely represented in the state of Michigan. We find them in large numbers in the Medical profession, in all its branches including Dentistry and Surgery, in the Legal profession, in Chemistry and Biology, in Teach-

ing, in Architecture, and in research work of all kinds. Many of these Jewish professional men in Michigan have risen to great eminence in their particular fields. In the research field, Dr. Reuben L. Kahn, of the University of Michigan, was recently awarded a prize for the best paper presented before the American Association for the Advancement of Science. He was recently honored also by the Royal Academy of Rome, and the Kahn Test, of which he is the discoverer, has been adopted by the medical department of the League of Nations to replace the Wasserman Test.

Outstanding in the legal profession is Henry M. Butzel, of Detroit, a Justice of the Supreme Court of Michigan. Charles C. Simons, a native Detroiter, was appointed Federal Judge for the Eastern District of Michigan, Southern Division, and later transferred to the Circuit bench of the Federal Court with headquarters at Cincinnati.

Distinguished among the professors at the University of Michigan are Dr. I. Leo Sharfman, head of the Department of Economics, and Professor Louis Strauss of the English Department.

In the domain of Art and Music the Jews have a full representation. Among the artists who have won international fame is the late Myron Barlow, a native Detroiter, but who for the past two decades had his studio in Etapes, France. Many of his canvasses hang in the French Salon and in other great art galleries of Europe and America.

*Jews in the War.* The record of Michigan Jews in the Civil War and in the World War is altogether praiseworthy. Figures are not available as to the exact number of Michigan boys of Jewish faith who fought in the World War, but it is known that in proportion to the total population of the state they have exceeded what would have been their normal quota. Not less than thirty Jewish boys of the state died on the field of battle. Many others won high distinction. Among these were Isidore Levin who entered the service as a private and was promoted in France to the rank of Captain. He wrote

the A.E.F. Manual for Field Artillery, a work that has become classic in military literature. Among other Michigan men of the Jewish faith who won eminent distinction were Drs. Max Ballin and Louis J. Hirschman, both of whom won the rank of Major in the Medical Corps.

*Jewish Newspapers.* Jewish news of Michigan is disseminated chiefly through the medium of a weekly newspaper, *The Detroit Jewish Chronicle*, which has a circulation that reaches the Jewish people in practically every city, town, and hamlet of the state. It is printed in English and carries all news relating to the religious, social, philanthropic, and community life of the Jewish people in Michigan. It was established under the name, *The Jewish American*, by Sol M. Goldsmith in the year 1905 but was taken over by Jos. J. Cummins and Jacob H. Schakne as publishers in the year 1917. For the past fourteen years Mr. Philip Slomovitz has been its editor. Previous to that time it was edited by Dr. Leo M. Franklin.

There are two other papers published in Yiddish, each of which devotes a section to Detroit interests. One is the *Vorwaerts*, a national daily with headquarters in New York, but which publishes a Chicago edition, one page of which is devoted to Detroit. The other is *Der Tog*, also a Yiddish daily which devotes one page each Thursday to matters of Jewish interest in Detroit and Michigan.

*Zionism.* Zionism, the movement to re-establish a Jewish home land in Palestine, is enthusiastically supported by many thousands of Michigan Jews but as a political philosophy it is opposed with at least equal vehemence by a corresponding number of leading thinkers among the Jewish people. As a purely cultural movement and as a philanthropic endeavor it enjoys the favor and support of all groups within Jewry. In its political aspect its supporters come largely from the ranks of Orthodox Jewry, yet not exclusively so. Its cultural endeavors centering in the establishment of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, and its philanthropic work, especially that sponsored by the Hadassah, have won well nigh universal approval.

All branches of the Zionist movement including the Misrachi, the Revisionists, and the so-called cultural Zionists have branches throughout the state.

## THE GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION OF MICHIGAN, 1760-1787

BY NELSON VANCE RUSSELL

CARLETON COLLEGE, MINNESOTA

FOUR days after the capitulation of the Marquis de Vaudreuil to Sir Jeffery Amherst at Montreal, Major Robert Rogers was dispatched by the way of Niagara and Presqu' Isle to Detroit, thence to Michilimackinac and the entire Northwest, with orders to collect the arms of the inhabitants and to administer the oath of allegiance.

Rogers arrived at Detroit on November 29, 1760, and soon the Fleur-de-lis, the symbol of fifty-nine years of French sovereignty, was lowered, and the Cross of St. George, symbolic of a new régime, rose aloft in the breeze.

After the making of treaties with the neighboring tribes, Rogers set out for Michilimackinac. The ice in Lake Huron completely obstructed his passage; and learning from the Indians that he could not journey by land without snowshoes, he returned to Detroit. On December 23 he turned over the command of the fort to Captain Donald Campbell and set out for Fort Pitt.

The other posts of St. Joseph, Sault Ste. Marie, Green Bay, and Michilimackinac remained in French control throughout the winter. Early in 1761 a unit of Royal Americans took possession of them; thus passed the last vestige of French political control in Michigan, although the treaty of Paris was not signed until February 10, 1763.

The first few years of British control until the proclamation of October, 1763, have been called the *Regime Militarie*. During this period the military commander of the posts was a law unto himself.

The British government had turned its attentions to the western problem early in the Seven Years' War. General Braddock, "that ill-starred soldier", had laid the foundations of an imperialistic program by appointing two colonials of rare

acumen in Indian affairs, Sir William Johnson and Edmund Atkin, as superintendents of the northern and southern Indians, with the Ohio River dividing, in a general way, their spheres of jurisdiction. The excellent work of these men was largely undone by the parsimony of Amherst, by the land-hungry frontiersmen, and by the arrogant, cruel traders. To Amherst the Indians were "pernicious vermin" who might best be put out of the way by presents of blankets inoculated with smallpox, or hunted with dogs, with a view to annihilation.

Johnson and Stuart (the successor of Atkin) were greatly handicapped because they lacked sufficient power to carry out any effective program. They were expected to protect the rights of the Indians and to give the imperial government all necessary information on western affairs. In 1761, because of Johnson's large influence, the sale and control of Indian lands, the redman's greatest grievance, was taken out of the hands of the colonial executives and was placed under imperial control. Thus some constructive work was really accomplished before the treaty of Paris was signed.

Another outstanding decision was reached during the winter of the epochal years of 1762 and 1763. A British army of twenty battalions, under the control of General Amherst, was to remain in America, to protect the West against foreign and Indian enemies, and to hold the new French and Spanish subjects under control. Amherst determined to scatter the units in rather small detachments, with the largest consisting of seven hundred and fifty men stationed at Quebec. Other forces were to be located at Montreal, Niagara, Pensacola, St. Augustine, Detroit, and in Nova Scotia, South Carolina, and the Lower Mississippi. Again these detachments were split up into many units to protect several posts within a district; for instance, the soldiers in the Detroit area, as a center, were also to garrison the posts of Michilimackinac, of Miami, and a fort at the mouth of the Illinois River. It thus appears that the ministry had reversed their former policy, and now hoped

to develop the West rapidly by colonization: to colonize from the west eastward, since the boundaries would in this way be more easily protected from attack.

This decision to maintain a standing army in America brought forth issues "concealed in the womb of time" that were largely responsible for the War of Independence. It was humanly impossible for any ministry, so far removed from the scenes of conflict, to foretell that radical ideas would spring from the attempt to raise funds to maintain an army in the West. Michigan, so far removed from Cabinet conflicts, thus indirectly played a notable part in the taxation problem, which led directly to the War for American Independence.

The solution of these many complex problems for Michigan and the West was well-nigh impossible. In England, ministry followed ministry so rapidly after 1760 that no constructive program could be worked out. Perhaps the only official who seemed to grasp the magnitude of the imperial problem was Lord Shelburne, who in 1763 became president of the Board of Trade in the Grenville ministry. This "ablest and most accomplished minister of the eighteenth century" upon assuming office gathered together with meticulous care all the available information on the West. With great acumen and sagacity he arrived at a judicious decision of vital importance in Michigan history, which, if carried out, would have changed the whole course of American history.

Area 1  
77

He found that there were three main issues to solve. First came the difficulty growing out of the presence of the army in the colonies. Just where was it to be stationed, and who should pay for its maintenance? The next problem was the organization of the Indian department, which had been quite well developed by Sir William Johnson. The last issue, and the one which proved to be the "hardest nut to crack" was the establishment of a white frontier. This was of great concern to Michigan, for if a line were drawn far to the east her future development would be greatly jeopardized. Everyone was agreed on the vital necessity of such a boundary, but as to the

location of the line there were many conflicting views. Should it follow the natural boundary of the Appalachian watershed, or should it lie much farther to the west? Was a boundary once established unalterable? Did it create a perpetual Indian reservation? All these problems and many more of great concern to the West confronted the young president of the Board of Trade.

Lord Egremont, Secretary of State, brought the attention of the Lords of Trade to the American problem in a letter of May, 1763, in which he asked for information as to what new governments should be established in the West; what military forces would be deemed necessary; and what methods would be used to get the colonies to help contribute to the support of the troops.

At once Lord Shelburne concentrated all of his energy upon these questions. On all issues he seemed to follow intelligent American opinion. He was an ardent expansionist and fully realized the futility of holding in check the white frontier. The pushing of the frontier westward, he realized, was only a natural operation which would come in due season from the "womb of time". He was opposed to centralization of Indian affairs, preferring to leave the questions which arose out of the white man's contact with the redman to the Colonials. A British army was necessary for the protection of the West, he felt, but its maintenance should at first be provided for by the Mother Country.

In accordance with these ideas, he formulated his plans in June and sent them to the ministry. A careful analysis of this report shows a knowledge of colonial affairs and a rationalization far superior to that of any other English official who had any contact with American problems. He planned a boundary line to be drawn from the north to the south between the white settlements and the Indian hunting grounds in such a way as to protect the former from Indian attacks and the latter from illegal encroachments. Shelburne saw the futility of a boundary which did not include the area around the forks

of the Ohio River, and farther south in Tennessee, an area already owned by land companies made up of Englishmen and Americans. This boundary line was to pacify the Indians, for already the ministry was aware of the growing Indian dissatisfaction. Beyond this line no settlement was to be made until a legitimate title to the land had been purchased by an imperial official. This would mean that Michigan and all of the Old Northwest would be left as a temporary Indian reservation, and such was Shelburne's idea. This may be explained by the great ignorance among all officials concerning the geography of the West. Shelburne must have known that troops had been dispatched to Detroit, Michilimackinac, and other Western posts in 1760, but many did not know just where these posts were located.

Before Shelburne could carry out his plans, news arrived concerning the outbreak of the great Indian war known in history as the Conspiracy of Pontiac. At once he planned a more decisive policy, and on August 5, 1763, recommended that his ideas outlined above be put into an immediate proclamation. Nothing was done until late in September, when Shelburne had withdrawn from a government with which he was not in sympathy, and when new and untried men made the final draft of his proposals.

It was now apparent that some policy had to be determined upon immediately, for the Indians were rapidly rising against the English. Lord Hillsborough succeeded Shelburne in the autumn of 1763, and in October a royal proclamation was issued proposing quite a different program from that suggested by Shelburne.

By the terms of the Proclamation, civil governments were to be established for the provinces of Quebec, Grenada, East Florida, and West Florida, while all the western territory outside the prescribed limits of these colonies, including Michigan, was reserved for the Indian nations. No mention was made of numerous French villages: Detroit, St. Joseph, Michilimackinac, etc. That Lord Hillsborough had no intention of

extending civil rights to the French inhabitants seems perfectly clear, not that he was ignorant of them, but that he preferred to "let the savages enjoy their deserts in quiet. Were they driven from their forests the peltry trade would decrease; and it is not impossible that worse savages would take refuge in them," he concluded. Thus the interests of the villages were to be completely ignored, and in a sense the *Regime Militaire* continued another decade. That is, the actual government in the last analysis was military, although the British ministry never consciously attached the settlements to the military department. The larger part of the newly acquired area was believed to be within the peltry areas of the West, and the desire to develop the fur trade in a large degree determined the policy of the ministry.

During these years the authorities were never able to cope satisfactorily with the conditions of comparative anarchy throughout the West. In 1764 an elaborate plan for the management of the Indian affairs was outlined by Hillsborough. Had this plan been put into effect, the Indian department and the Indian agents could have brought some order out of chaos. But neither the military nor the Indian departments had the legal authority to administer justice. Nevertheless it was a general English custom that the ancient laws of a conquered country remain until the King actually changes them. Thus, through the change of sovereignty, the English public law was substituted for the French, the private law remaining unchanged. It would have been illegal to have governed the new subjects of the West other than according to the laws and customs already prevailing among them. The post commanders who had to enforce some order in the country had, therefore, no authority to displace any of the laws and customs of the French inhabitants. This is in contrast to the situation found in the newly established provinces. Thus in a sense the government of Michigan was *de facto* by its very nature. It had no legal foundations. Every act of the commanders was based on expediency. This course was accepted temporarily, for all

officials were well aware that such a condition could not continue.

In 1774 the Quebec Act was enacted, and the area of Michigan, as a portion of the province of Quebec, became a part of a crown colony with a government and a legislative council appointed by the King. But, as there were so very few English inhabitants, and the French were unfamiliar with the representative institutions, no provision was made for an assembly. General Guy Carleton, who had been acting as governor, was retained. In the instructions issued to him in January, 1775, provision was made for a government in Michigan. It was to be governed from Quebec, and a lieutenant-governor, or superintendent, was to reside at Detroit and at Michilimackinac. At the former village was to be established a lower court of the King's Bench which was to cooperate with the superior courts in Montreal and Quebec. In 1775, Henry Hamilton, the first lieutenant-governor for Michigan, was sent to Detroit where he arrived in November. Nevertheless, the perfectly good intentions of the British government were not put into execution, because the cataclysm of the War for American Independence consumed the entire energy of the home government and Canada. During the war the posts and the people in Michigan were, for the most part, left to their own resources and devices.

The Quebec Act made only slight changes in the government of Michigan, for the post officials, civil and military, became so absorbed in maintaining British power in the West that little time or strength remained for things politic. The post commanders, as the King's representatives, were confronted daily with the most trying problems which, however, they attempted to solve to the best of their ability.

No sooner had English settlers entered Michigan than they began to agitate for the establishment of a civil government, an activity Governors Murray and Carleton found common throughout the whole region under their jurisdiction. The French inhabitants had no spontaneous prompting toward things political. Theirs was to obey. From time immemorial

they had been used to despotic rule, and were wholly untaught in any of the matters of self-government. The commandant had absolute dominion over them, and the priest, their most venerated man, had all power over their spiritual life. Their habits of obedience were so ingrained that, although hope never entirely faded that in some way they might be restored to France, they never organized a revolt; however they did cause much uneasiness to the post officials during the War of Independence.

Before 1775, the British inhabitants at Detroit became so pestiferous in their demands for an assembly that Colonel Bradstreet, when post commandant, also took up their quarrel. He urged the crown to establish a civil government on the ground that it would encourage settlement around Detroit. Bradstreet was supported by many London fur merchants who were greatly concerned about military law and the military establishment in the West. They stated their opinion in no uncertain manner to the Lords of Trade in 1765, that their business at Detroit, Michilimackinac, and other western posts was greatly handicapped by the "impractical regulations on traders" that the military imposed, and that such a government was incompatible with the spirit of commerce. It was to solve just such problems that the Quebec Act was passed, but to no practical avail.

Because of the remoteness of the post commanders from the central authority, they did not hesitate sometimes to rule arbitrarily, and several officials were known to have exploited their positions to reap great advantages. Secretary Conway, in 1776, gave explicit orders to the governors at Detroit and Michilimackinac to be extremely careful of their conduct, and of all the officers under them lest suspicion might arise. He felt that some of the commandants, "taking advantage of their powers", had turned traders and insisted upon a preference for themselves of all the furs that were brought to the market, greatly to the discouragement and injury of the Indian trade. Lord Shelburne was of the opinion that most of the disorders

and troubles of the back regions were due to the fraudulent grants and purchases of lands which the governors countenanced, actuated by shameful motives of self-interest. The merchants, especially at Michilimackinac, claimed that the officers placed their own interpretations on the fur regulations and added many others which tended "to the greatest oppression or almost entire ruin of several individuals", and to the general detriment of the peltry business. They also complained that the exclusive right to trade in "an immense tract of land . . . to the westward of Michigan" had been given to certain friends by the post commander, which alarmed and greatly discouraged the merchants and traders in that region. Trade was gradually becoming a monopoly in the hands of a few particular friends of the commandant. "It happened by degrees", said Robertson to Governor Simcoe's council, "to be discovered that none but those who bought their goods of them (the commandants' friends) were perfectly loyal or good subjects." These complaints reached London and every attempt was made to put an end to such practices.

On the whole, Great Britain was more fortunate in her choice of officials for the Michigan posts than in most of the older colonies. It was the opinion of travelers that these governors were deservedly esteemed and respected for their fairness, tolerance, and propriety of conduct by both the inhabitants and the traders. They seemed to have insurmountable difficulties in an area so far removed from the center of government. They wielded a power well-nigh absolute over the affairs and fortunes of those under their authority, particularly during the troublous years of the war. Among the most noted of the commandants during the British régime were Henry Hamilton of Detroit, Major De Peyster of Michilimackinac and Detroit, and Patrick Sinclair and Robert Rogers of Michilimackinac.

During these years certain inferior officers were appointed, such as notaries, recorders, and justices of the peace. Justices undertook to try claims where the amount involved was less

than £10, but had no authority to try civil cases begun for the collection of debts. All civil suits were held at Montreal. Many suits were avoided by means of arbitration, the decision of the arbitrators being carried out by the military officials. This manner of carrying on affairs and collecting debts was open to much criticism and repeated attempts were made to establish a judicial system, but nothing was accomplished during the period this paper covers.

In 1783 British and American representatives drew up the treaty of Paris which recognized the independence of the rebelling colonies. A boundary line was run through the middle of the Great Lakes, and England agreed to withdraw from the regions south and west of that boundary which were then still in her possession. But new altercations arose over the execution of the provisions of the treaty, and thus it came about that Michigan and adjacent areas remained in British possession until the summer of 1796.

During this period of *de facto* (not *de jure*) control by the British, the American congress began shaping a policy for the West. A scheme of government, known as the Ordinance of 1787, was adapted for the region north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi River. This famous ordinance prohibited slavery, provided for civil and religious liberty, and a general framework of government, but as we have seen did not apply to Michigan until 1796.

In spite of the many provisions for civil government, Michigan continued to be governed by the post commanders until July of 1788 when, by the proclamation of Lord Dorchester, four new districts were created in Quebec, and liberal and popular changes were brought about. Detroit and the surrounding region were thereafter known as the District of Hesse. The boundaries of Hesse according to the proclamation were very vague, because of the fact that Great Britain did not presume openly to assert ownership to territory which had been ceded to the United States by the treaty of Paris of 1783. Following closely upon the proclamation of July, 1788, came

## GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION OF MICHIGAN, 1760-1787 103

the proposal to divide Canada into two provinces. Each province was to have a legislature composed of a council, appointed by the crown for life, and an assembly chosen by the land owners or rent payers. The division took place in December, 1791, but no election was held until the following year, when D. W. Smith and William Macomb were chosen to represent the district about Detroit.

Governor Simcoe assembled the first provincial parliament of Upper Canada at Newark (Niagara) September 17, 1792, and a few days later a petition from the citizens of Detroit was laid before the assembly, requesting that some law be passed to prevent accidents by fire. This was done and seven other acts were passed as the first session of the parliament. These acts were applicable to Detroit and all the rest of the province, and the difficulty arose to word the law so that it would apply to Detroit without mentioning the place by name.

At the second session of the first parliament, which began in May, 1793, thirteen acts were passed, one being of more than usual significance. It provided for the popular election on the first Monday of March in every year of two town assessors, one collector, a town clerk, six overseers of highways, a pound keeper, and two wardens, thus looking clearly toward popular self-government. Another act prohibiting the further importation of slaves was proposed. Still more important was the bill validating marriages of Protestants at Detroit. There was seldom a chaplain attached to the garrison, and many marriages, solemnized by the commandant or lieutenant governor, were of doubtful legality. This law made legal all marriages performed "before any magistrate, or commanding officer of a fort, . . . or any person in any public office." Justices of the peace were allowed to perform the ceremony provided there were no Protestant ministers within eighteen miles of the residence of the persons to be married.

In June, 1794, parliament met for the third time and passed twelve acts; and in August, 1795, the fourth session was held at which five acts were passed. The two sittings made provi-

sion for the various courts of the province, for juries, and for expatriated Americans. This was the last legislation passed by a Canadian parliament applying to the Michigan area. For in 1796, when the Second parliament met, the members already were aware of the Jay-Hamilton treaty, and thus passed no laws which were applicable to Michigan.

## *Hand* HISTORICAL NOTES

THE Archivist of the United States announces the appointment of Vernon D. Tate, formerly Chief of the Division of Photographic Reproduction and Research, as Chief of the new professional Division of Photographic Archives and Research and the resignation of G. Leighton LaFuze, formerly in the Division of Classification, to accept a position as professor of history and political science in the John B. Stetson University.

Emmett J. Leahy, of the Division of Treasury Department Archives, is making a round-the-world tour, during which he will study the archival activities of various foreign countries.

Among noteworthy groups of records recently received by The National Archives from the Adjutant General's Office are correspondence and other papers of the Secretary of War and of the headquarters of the Army, 1800-1903; original records of discontinued military posts, units, and geographical commands, 1835-1912; original muster rolls, 1818-65, and strength returns, 1812-98, of volunteer troops in various wars; manuscript documents and maps used in compiling the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*; and records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-72.

A selection of military maps and maps resulting from geographical explorations and surveys, most of which fall between 1789 and 1894, is in process of transfer from the Office of the Chief of Engineers.

The transfer of most of the records of the Office of Indian Affairs through 1921, with some series extending through 1936, has now been completed. Received with this material were records of the former Alaska Division of the Office of Education, 1883-1931, and of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1869-1933.

Other recent transfers include records of the Bureau of the Mint and of its predecessor, the United States Mint, 1792-1932; national bank examiners' reports with related correspondence, 1863-1930, and records relating to Federal Reserve notes and currency, 1914-36, from the Office of the Comptroller of the

Currency; correspondence and other papers from the Office of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1879-1930; practically all the records of the Forest Service, 1898-1915, including the significant "Pinchot files"; correspondence of the Hydrographic Office of the Navy Department, 1862-1925; and records of the United States Shipping Board relating to harbor facilities, protection against submarines, cooperation with Allied nations, recruiting of merchant sailors, litigation, and administrative matters, 1917-25.

Among the records in the custody of The National Archives are many millions of folded documents that should be unfolded and flattened to prevent unnecessary wear. To speed up this work on the old pension records received from the Veterans' Administration, a Works Progress Administration project employing over 350 workers has been set up; and during the first month of its operation over a million and a half documents were treated.

*How The National Archives Serves the Government and the Public*, a 16-page circular, has been prepared for free distribution; requests for copies should be directed to the Administrative Secretary of The National Archives.

---

*Lib  
acc 100*

**D**URING the past year the Marquette County Historical Society has added many volumes of the Public Acts of Michigan and the Reports of the Michigan Supreme Court to its library. Many statutes are found to have a local application and the opinions of the court frequently are found to present historical data relating to this section of the state. Many of these volumes were secured from Lansing lawyers who have retired from business.

To these have been added the four volumes of the reports of the Territorial Court of Michigan already published by the University of Michigan.

From the University law library was secured a photostatic reproduction of the record in the case of Compo vs. the Jackson

Mining Company, relating to the original discovery of iron ore on Lake Superior, which occurred in Marquette County at Negaunee's future site in 1844 and 1845.

From the U. S. Archives Bureau in Washington the society has obtained photostats of many documents in the files of the Bureau.

A miscellaneous collection of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts came to the society during the past year.

The building of the society at 213 N. Front St., Marquette, on which members of the Longyear family have so far expended over \$52,000, was not ready for occupancy at the time of the 1938 annual meeting, but it is hoped it will be next year. This building is completely fire-proof with a series of steel-concrete air-conditioned vaults for the reception of documents.

During the year the society has cooperated with the W. P. A. both state and local in various capacities. It prepared the historical inscription for the bronze tablet to be erected on a stone monument which the W. P. A. has erected beside U. S. 41 at the south entrance to Marquette. It has checked local material relating to this region found in the projected Guidebook of Michigan. Four W. P. A. workers have been assigned to the society; two of them will check old newspapers and magazines for factual material which will be copied on cards and filed for reference; and two of them will copy grave-stone data, designed to supplement vital statistics records now available.

The treasurer's report showed aggregate receipts of the society during the past year of \$554 derived from dues, interest and the annual appropriation of the board of supervisors of Marquette County of \$100. The receipts of the building fund were \$52,000. The society has 117 members paying annual dues, and five life members. There are now 1126 photographs in the society's collections, with 207 photographic plates and 30 lantern slides. The library now contains 1257 books, 906 manuscripts, 899 pamphlets, 195 maps, 42 magazines, 90 newspapers, 572 photostats; letters, etc., about 150 in number.

This is in addition to the J. M. Longyear collection of books, maps, etc., listed separately.

The prospect of having a safe depository for documents is already arousing outside interest and attracting prospective additions to the collections and museum. Mr. Howard Corn-ing of the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts, has signified his purpose of turning over to the society papers of the William Austin Burt family identified with the county in its early years, as soon as the building and vault is ready.

Mr. Harry T. Hulst announced that he would present the society's museum with the very valuable collection of minerals assembled by his father, Dr. N. P. Hulst and himself during many years of geological work in northern Michigan and elsewhere. Old furniture and other materials will also become available when the building is prepared to receive them.

At its annual October meeting, the Marquette County Board of Supervisors continued its annual appropriation of \$100.00 for the use of the society.

L. A. CHASE,  
Corresponding Secretary,  
Marquette.

---

An excellent project of an American Legion post is explained by Mr. Robert McCarthy of Lansing, who writes as follows:

A PROGRAM to place in every school of the State the official Michigan flag is the result of one man's idea of what his American Legion post should do to further the cause of Americanism.

The Michigan flag bears the state coat of arms on a field of blue. Tuebor Post No. 193, of Lansing, took its name from the word "Tuebor" on the state coat of arms, Latin word meaning, "I will defend." The Post uses insignia whose design resembles that of the great seal of the state.

Mr. Carl Hilts, as commander of the Post, proposed that his organization adopt this program in order that young people of Michigan might gain inspiration from better acquaintance

with the flag, acquire a greater love for their state, and thus extend the service of the Legion.

A committee of the Post obtained the immediate cooperation of the Michigan Historical Commission. Leaflets describing the flag were obtained from the Commission for distribution by the committee, and the personal assistance of the Commission staff was offered and freely used by the Post.

Dr. Eugene B. Elliott, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, was among the first to lend his endorsement of the plan. School officials generally have welcomed the proposal as adding another inspirational influence for students. Several industrial concerns have expressed a desire to display the flag in their offices, and a wide approval from community leaders has greeted Tuebor Post's efforts.

Lansing's Eastern High School was the first school in the state to participate officially in the plan. Mr. Dwight Rich, a prominent Legionnaire, is principal. The student council voted to purchase a flag and it was presented by Mr. Carlos Heazlit at the auditorium program on Thursday, October 6. On the same day the student council of Lansing Central High School purchased its flag. Further efforts of the committee were spent in organizing to complete the work in Ingham County in preparation for extending the campaign on a state-wide basis.

Mr. Harold Lemmer, present commander of Tuebor Post, has appointed Mr. Ed. V. Lucasse chairman of the flag committee. Other members are Howard Walker, Carlos Heazlit, Carleton Gill and Robert McCarthy.

---

Dear Editor :

**S**O much history that isn't true is written (or otherwise retailed) that it affords an encouraging sign of our own time to encounter such zealous, painstaking younger workers in the local historical field as Mr. McCoy and Mr. Peckham. I have corresponded somewhat extensively with Mr. McCoy, author of the recent booklet, *The Massacre of Old Fort Mack-*

inaw, and have been greatly impressed by his painstaking concern, in writing a booklet primarily for the summer tourist trade, to learn and state the facts correctly. Mr. Peckham's letter on the date of the massacre at Fort Michilimackinac, published in your Autumn issue, affords another fine example of care and zeal to the same end. Seldom does a single contribution exhaust any historical subject, however, and while the subject is fresh in the minds of your readers it may be opportune to add some additional comment upon the subject of the massacre.

Although it is a real service to students to have the true date of the massacre established so conclusively, it would be a mistake to assume that there is anything particularly new about it. As long ago as 1876, Dr. Draper published Captain Etherington's letter of June 12, 1763 to Major Gladwin at Detroit, in the opening sentence of which he states that the massacre took place on June 2.<sup>1</sup> Again, in 1908, Dr. R. G. Thwaites published a certificate of Etherington written at Mackinac on June 10, 1763, giving the date of the massacre as "the second instant."<sup>2</sup> "Extracts" from Etherington's letter of June 12, 1763, giving the second as the date of the massacre were also printed in the *Mich. Pioneer Colls.* in 1896 (XXVII, 631); and in my own edition of Alexander Henry's narrative, published in 1921, I corrected Henry's date of June 4, and directed the reader to Captain Etherington's letters in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*.<sup>3</sup>

More interesting, possibly, than the foregoing, are certain other items about these early letters reporting the massacre. The William Woodbridge Papers comprise one of the most extensive and valuable personal groups in the Burton Historical Collection. Woodbridge had learned French in boyhood at Gallipolis, Ohio. A favorite sister had married a Frenchman, and on coming to Michigan Woodbridge quickly won the friendship and confidence of the French settlers,

<sup>1</sup>*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 162.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, XVIII, 254.

<sup>3</sup>*Alexander Henry's Travels and Adventures*. . . (Chicago, 1921), 77.

whom he often served in both legal and political ways. So it comes about that the two earliest items in the Woodbridge Papers are letters concerning the massacre of 1763, which were obtained by him from Pierre Grignon of Green Bay. An inexact and misdated copy of the first item is printed in *American State Papers, Pub. Lands*, IV, 852, and from there copied in *Wis. Hist. Colls.* VIII, 217. The correct date of the letter, authorizing the Langlade family to remove to Green Bay, is April 15, 1763, instead of April 13, as printed. The inaccuracies in the body of the letter merely illustrate the looser editorial standards of a century ago in the matter of taking liberties with original documents.

The second item in the Woodbridge collection is Captain Etherington's letter to Langlade; written at L'Arbre Croche, June 28, 1763. This is in French, and a very careless English translation was published by Dr. Draper in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 217-19. In so far as my knowledge goes, no correct version of the letter has yet been printed. In the one noted, the somewhat astonishing feat was achieved of transforming a woman into a man, thereby concealing from the reader a fact of considerable current interest. The recent novel of Mr. Roberts, *Northwest Passage*, has fixed the Mackinac of Major Rogers' time in the minds of unnumbered thousands of readers. Even so notable an authority on the period as Dr. L. P. Kellogg of the Wisconsin Historical Society supposes Mrs. Rogers to have been the first Englishwoman who ever visited the Upper Lakes.<sup>4</sup> As a matter of fact, more than one Englishwoman had preceded Mrs. Rogers in this area, and one, at least, went through the massacre of 1763 at Michilimackinac. But for the erroneous translation of Etherington's letter of June 28, 1763, published by Dr. Draper, this fact could not possibly have escaped Dr. Kellogg's attention. Since time will not permit our copying the entire letter, we supply the concluding portion of it, which chances also to be the portion

<sup>4</sup>See her *British Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest* (Madison, 1935), 44

with which Dr. Draper seems to have had the most difficulty:<sup>5</sup>

About Susan—If you think there is too much risk in keeping her in the fort, you may send her to the Mission; but have Fitzpatrick sent here by the first opportunity and spread the report that you have done the same with the English girl, then keep her safely hidden, or change her lodging place.

As I am expecting so many from the Bay I shall need six pounds of vermillion. No telling what effect the news from that place will have on the Chippewa so keep a sharp look-out.

Mr. Leslie joins me in the liberty we take of greetings to all your family and to all our friends in the fort.

I remain Your very humble and most obedient servant  
Geo. Etherington

I send requisitions for corn and whatever else you may need. Mr. Lacombe will let you have men to bring them here.

M. M. QUAIFE,  
Burton Historical Collection,  
Detroit.

---

“OLD TIME NEW ENGLAND,” a valued exchange, being the *Bulletin* of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, has an interesting article on covered bridges in the October 1938 number. The article is by William Serey Powell.

“Probably the most interesting and conspicuous of all engineering structures to the general public is the bridge,” says Mr. Powell. “Especially interesting to us today is the covered bridge, which was so prevalent in the early days. Covered bridges are no longer built today, so that an attempt is being made to preserve the ones that are still standing as far as possible. The early bridges were constructed of wood and the covering was probably intended as a protection from the weather.

---

<sup>5</sup>Original in French; translation by Mrs. L. Oughtred Woltz, former archivist of the Burton Hist. Coll.

"The covered bridge is quite characteristic of America, although it is not unknown in Europe, and it is especially characteristic of New England. Unlike steel or concrete bridges, covered bridges have an appeal that varies according to the particular interest of the observer. The student of local history is attracted strongly to them by reason of their age and the events that they may have witnessed during the passing years. The artist is often attracted by the quaint and picturesque settings in which they find themselves. To many of the bridges there clings an air of romance that excites the imagination. The engineer is interested in them because they are to him examples of the works of the early members of his profession and represent to him the gradual, and lately, the more rapid development in the field of structural engineering."

Mr. Powell states that Vermont possesses probably the largest number of these bridges of any state in the Union. "This may be due in part," he says, "to the native conservatism or the unwillingness of the people to discard a sound structure that is still capable of performing its appointed task, for something more modern."

He mentions the splendid workmanship and the sturdy design of these old bridges which have made it possible for them to carry traffic far beyond anything their builders could have dreamed of, as another reason for the large number still existing in Vermont today. "The small size of the rivers and streams of the state favored the construction of many bridges. Timber was plentiful and cheap and the short spans which were required could be built easily by clever local artisans."

All lovers of the antique,—though in the light of modern convenience they can scarcely regret that the day of the covered bridge is past,—yet they do lament that the old covered bridges still remaining may be doomed to destruction. Happily a few of the larger ones are left. There are more than 200 covered bridges still in use in Vermont, according to Mr. Powell. Many of these are on the less frequented back roads,

where the real charm of rural Vermont can best be observed. Few, if any, of the covered structures are less than fifty years old and not a few are over a hundred.

In these Vermont bridges, the genius of some one builder is clearly reflected in the marked similarity of design of the bridges he built in some parts of the state. Again, many individual bridges have distinctive features of their own. The most common type of covered bridge in Vermont is that known as the "Town Lattice Truss", invented by one Ithiel Town, an architect of New Haven, Connecticut, and patented by him in 1820. Town received a considerable income from licensing builders to use it. The design was popular because the bridges could be built entirely of planks, held together by wooden pins, and required no heavy timbers. They could easily be reinforced, if they showed signs of weakness.

"These old bridges," avers Mr. Powell, "were of skillful design, careful workmanship and excellent materials. They lasted for many, many years, that is, a number far beyond what engineers usually consider the useful life of a steel bridge today. They very rarely failed unless they were washed away or burned."

Mr. Powell relates some interesting examples of covered bridges that were swept away by floods in the rivers and how they were rescued and set up again, having suffered no more severely than bridges of other types.

"Fire is," he says, "after floods and the march of progress, the most deadly enemy of covered bridges," sometimes destroying bridges of unusual historic interest, examples of which he describes.

Under ordinary circumstances these bridges served well. "In fact," he says, "it has been unheard of for a Vermont covered bridge to collapse under load, or to be wrecked by a motor car, although heavy loads have been known to break through the floor. While the old bridge builders knew little or nothing about the theory of bridge design, they did possess to a re-

markable degree, sound common sense and pride in their own fine workmanship."

Great development was made in road and bridge building after the Revolutionary War, due to the peaceful development of the country and the expansion of settlements. Wooden bridges were favored on account of the abundance of timber and the need of economy. Many of the longer structures were toll bridges.

In the fall after the harvest, the farmer's thoughts turned to hauling his produce to mill or market. Highways were crude, often little more than trails, full of ruts and oozy with mud, or in winter covered for weeks deep under the snow. Later the main roads were turnpiked. The covered bridge was fairly free from snow in the winter, giving safe passage to the travelers, and protection to itself from the heavy weight of snowdrifts.

Some of the earliest bridges had sides and roofs made of log slabs. With the coming of the sawmills, boards and shingles took their place. Across the larger streams, the bridges were generally built with connecting sections resting on stone piers, a picturesque solution of the problem of building a bridge.

Of our early American bridge designers, three of the most noted were Timothy Palmer, Louis Wernwag, and Theodore Burr. The first and the last had passed away by the end of the first quarter of the 19th century. Palmer lived at Newburyport, Mass. He died in 1821. Burr was a native of Connecticut, died in 1822. Wernwag was a native of Germany, died in 1843. These men built the first permanent covered bridges over the larger rivers, such as the Merrimac, the Schuylkill, the Delaware, the Hudson, the Mohawk, the Susquehanna. The timber used in most of these bridges was white pine, for its durability. The "nails" were strong pins made out of hardwood.

"In an attempt to preserve the natural beauty and picturesqueness of the covered bridge for future generations,"

says Mr. Powell, "several movements are under way. A number of bridges in New England states have been restored and repaired and in numerous instances memorial plaques have been placed upon the bridges themselves to commemorate an outstanding historical event."

Michigan has had her share of covered bridges, but alas, the hand of progress and modern improvement has swept away nearly all that remained. There are only two of these old relics today left in Michigan, the one at Ada, near Grand Rapids, and the one that spans the St. Joseph River at Mottville, in the southwest corner of St. Joseph County in the southern part of the state. The latter stands near the present modern concrete bridge that spans the St. Joseph at this point, on U. S. 112, the great highway from Detroit to Chicago.

Some years ago, the Michigan History Magazine carried an article about the old Mottville bridge. It was written by Mr. Dana P. Smith, a retired civil engineer, interested in Michigan history, and especially in the old roads and bridges. That was back in the July issue of the Magazine, 1926. Mr. Smith told the pioneer story of the now almost unknown and forgotten little village of Mottville. It is today a town of quaint old houses, majestic shade trees, and views of surpassing beauty of the St. Joseph River. There even today the atmosphere of the place takes one back to the days of the covered wagon, the stage coach, and the typical pioneer settlement.

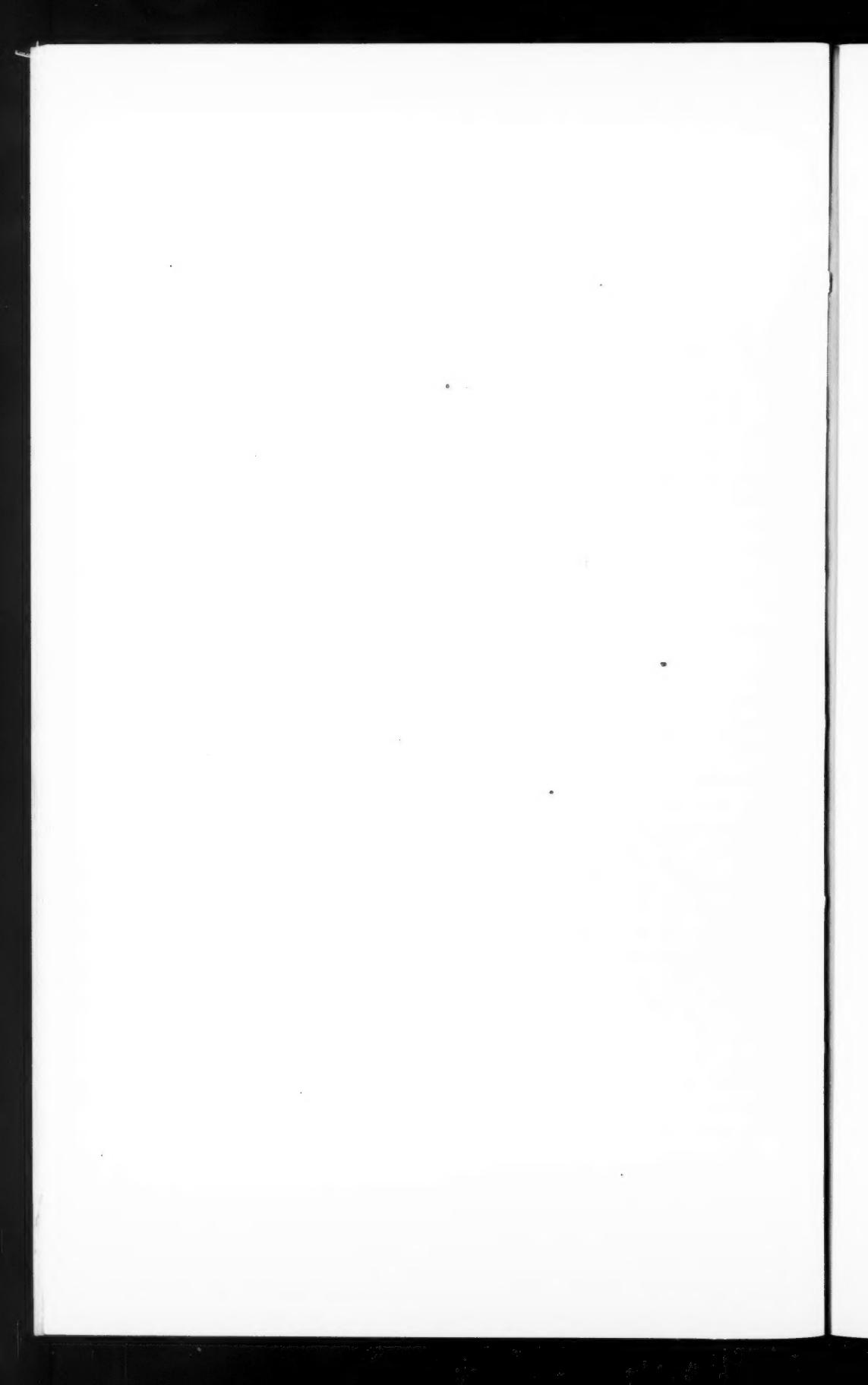
The first settler arrived there over a hundred years ago, in 1827, from Ohio. Mottville became a thriving pioneer village, because it was on the Potawatomi trail, at the river junction. That trail became the Detroit-Chicago road. Stage coaches were running on that road before Michigan became a state.

The Indians almost by instinct selected the most direct routes compatible with the lay of the country. They always forded the streams at the best places for crossing. From time immemorial the Indian tribes of the west had passed eastward

and returned to their homes, crossing the river at Mottville. So it was natural the white man should select this ford as the place to cross the Chicago Road over the St. Joseph River. Travelers going west crossed the river at the Indian ford up to the summer of 1833, when the Federal government let a contract for the construction of a bridge as a part of the military road. Sixteen thousand feet of timber was used. That bridge was taken down in 1845 to make place for another, which stood until 1867. This was the covered bridge, still standing, a splendid memorial of the days of horse drawn traffic.

The paving of the old Chicago Road brought a great change to Mottville in the Summer of 1922. Into this valley of romance there came the sound of the steam whistle, the roar of hoisting engines, the chugging of pile drivers, and the rattling grind of concrete mixers. Today, looking down the river from the old Indian Ford, we see the finished form of the great three-span concrete bridge. Monumental in solidity, artistically beautiful in outline, it is a delight to all beholders, a monument to the Highway department of the State of Michigan.

Mr. Smith observes: "If Chief White Pigeon could come gliding down the river in his canoe, what would he say at the sight of this marvel of engineering genius? He would probably say, that the white man had improved on the old ford, but yet, ages ago his fathers had selected this site as the crossing of a great Indian highway, and the white man had done no more than follow in their steps with his modern methods of transportation."



## AMONG THE BOOKS

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN HISTORICAL ESSAYS. Edited by A. E. R. Boak. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1937, pp. 182. Price \$2.75.

Volume XI of the University of Michigan Publications, Series History and Political Science. Sponsored by the History Department of the University. Reflects wide range of interests in mediaeval and modern times. Two essays are of special interest to general readers in Michigan: "Transportation and Naval Defense in the Old Northwest During the British Régime, 1760-96", by Nelson Vance Russell, and "The Catholepistemiad, or University of Michigania", by Egbert R. Isbell.

---

RECORDS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN: JOURNAL OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE REGENTS 1845-1851, AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE BUILDING COMMITTEE, 1847. Published by the University, Ann Arbor, 1937, pp. 102.

From an old ledger in the University Library. Side lights on early history of the University. Antedates the presidency of Phillip Tappan. Shows the Executive Committee performing the duties of president.

---

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. Volume VI, *The Territory of Mississippi, 1807-1817* (Continued). United States Government Printing Offices, Washington, D. C., 1938, pp. 893. Price \$1.50.

Previous volumes in this series have been reviewed in the Magazine. Volume V embodied similar documents on Mississippi Territory for the period 1798-1809. The papers printed in volume VI are drawn from the correspondence between Federal and territorial officials, between the territorial officers themselves, and from a wide range of other sources, including petitions from the inhabitants to Congress, reports of congressional committees, proclamations, census reports, and letters of applicants for office.

In their entirety, these letters and documents present a composite and many-sided picture of the territorial period with frequent and interesting side lights on national affairs. The correspondence between the Federal and territorial officers discloses a continuous stream of administrative problems relating to the application of the land laws, the extension of postal facilities, and the organization of local governments. The ever-present Indian problem was aggravated by the de-

mands of land-hungry immigrants and the activities of the Spanish in neighboring Florida. The administration of the land system was complicated by the incursions of intruders or squatters on the public and Indian lands, and by the demands of legitimate purchasers for more favored treatment from the national government. Also characteristic of the period are the frequent references to the vigorous and bitter factional disputes of frontier politics.

Documents of more than local interest include letters, reports, and memorandums from President James Madison, Secretaries of State Robert Smith and James Monroe, Secretaries of the Treasury Albert Gallatin, Alexander Dallas, and William H. Crawford, Secretaries of War William Eustis and John Armstrong, and Postmasters-General Gideon Granger and Return J. Meigs, Jr. There are also many papers of Governor David Holmes, Territorial Secretaries Thomas Williams, Henry Daingerfield, and Nathaniel Ware, as well as those of the other territorial officials.

---

DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY: INDEX. Scribners, New York, 1937, pp. 613. Price \$15.

Variety of listing, by author, by titles of articles, by nativity of biographical subjects, by educational institutions, by occupations, by distinctive topics. Somewhat lacking in consistency and accuracy, but an exceedingly valuable companion volume of this great work of over thirteen thousand memoirs.

---

BIBLIOGRAPHIES IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By Henry Putney Beers. H. W. Wilson Co., N. Y., 1938, pp. 339. Price \$3.50.

An indispensable tool for historical research. Over seven thousand references. The portion given to the states lists twenty-eight separate items for Michigan. Among these, the most important is Streeter's *Michigan Bibliography*, published by the Michigan Historical Commission (1921).

---

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS: AN ACCOUNT OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1936. By Whitney H. Shepardson in collaboration with William O. Scroggs. Harpers, New York, 1937, pp. 312. Price \$3.

Problems of American foreign relations viewed from a broad world background. Instructive summaries, important events topically arranged, text of trade agreements, quotations from laws, court decisions and public addresses. Explains the effect of the Sino-Japanese conflict upon American naval construction. Brief account of efforts made to

avoid involvement of the United States in European affairs. Status of relations with Latin American states is briefly considered. The volume is sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations.

---

**A HISTORY OF AMERICAN HISTORY.** By Michael Kraus. Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., N. Y., 1937, pp. 607. Price \$3.75.

The first complete study of American historiography. Of special interest for the last eighty years. Considerable attention is given to the older historians Sparks, Bancroft and Hildreth. A whole chapter is devoted to Parkman. With the rise of the "Scientific School" come Henry Adams and the Bibliographers. In the "Nationalist School" the author considers Von Holst, Schouler, Rhodes, Fiske, McMaster, Oberholtzer, Channing, and many minor lights. There is a chapter on "Interpretive Writings," here Woodrow Wilson, Moses Coit Tyler, and Charles and Mary Beard. Some 50 pages are given to "The Frontier and Sectional Historians." There is a chapter on "Biography," and one on "Co-operative Histories," among the latter the *American Nation* series and the *History of American life* series. A very entertaining volume to read, in many places provocative of vigorous reaction.

---

**TEACHING THE SOCIAL STUDIES: THEORY AND PRACTICE.** By Edgar B. Wesley. D. C. Heath and Co., Boston, 1937, pp. 635. Price \$2.80.

Discusses such topics as, where to obtain visual aids, objectives of the separate subjects, steps in revising the curriculum, examining textbooks, basic materials for a professional library, specimen field trips, specimen projects, standardized tests in the social studies. The author's wide knowledge and long experience has produced what probably is the most practical book on this subject to date.

---

**THE WOODROW WILSONS.** By Eleanor Wilson McAdoo. Illustrated. Macmillan, New York, 1937, pp. 301. Price \$3.50.

The intimate story of a close and delightful family circle, by the youngest daughter. Specially valuable for its social history from the early 1890's. The personal relations of Woodrow Wilson with his family and with great characters of the period are charmingly presented.

---

**THE OLD SOUTH: THE GEOGRAPHICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL EXPANSION, INSTITUTIONS, AND NATIONALISM OF THE ANTE-BELLUM SOUTH.** By R. S. Cotterill. The Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, California, 1937, pp. 354. Price \$4.50.

A graphic yet scholarly general view of the Old South. The central theme is discussed in the long chapter on "Development of Southern Nationalism." The work as a whole avoids re-hashing the well-known events covered by general histories. It is the first complete survey of the ante-bellum South. Contains the essential bibliography of this important field.

---

**MIDDLETOWN IN TRANSITION: A STUDY IN CULTURAL CONFLICTS.** By Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd. Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1937, pp. 604. Price \$5.00.

The earlier "Middletown," *A Study in Contemporary American Culture*, was reviewed in the Magazine in the Winter number, 1931. That volume was an extraordinarily vivid composite portrait of the activities and mental processes of an average industrial community in the East-North-Central group of states. The present study is of even greater value. The social historian finds here two chapters devoted to the *process* of change. The authors' conclusions as to the effect of the depression upon basic habits and attitudes are helpful.

---

**CHRISTIANITY, CAPITALISM AND COMMUNISM.** By Albert Hyma. Published by the author at Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1937, pp. 300. Price \$2.75.

Historical analysis, by a teacher of history at the University of Michigan. Dr. Hyma has produced an arresting book, based upon a wide range of sources in Latin, Italian, French, German, Dutch as well as English. Such an array of scholarship might seem forbidding, but the author's lucid and easy flowing style makes easy reading. We might say, solid information on a ponderous subject, not sugar coated, but well lubricated. The uniqueness of the book lies in its approach not from the socio-economic but from the religious and historical point of view. A valuable and stimulating work.

---

**THE STORY OF DICTATORSHIP: FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TILL TODAY.** By E. E. Kellett. Dutton, N. Y., 1937, pp. 231. Price \$1.75.

History of the role played by force in the conduct of human affairs. The ancient Greeks called them "tyrants;" moderns call them by various euphemistic titles, but frequently "dictators." Mr. Kellett finds them in the main all alike, from Old Testament times to Herr Hitler. His brief sketches of particular specimens are entertaining and instructive. The distinguishing feature of the modern "tyranny" he finds to be based on some theory for which political expression is sought. His

suggestions for defense of democracies against power politics is not convincing to this reviewer.

---

**A HISTORY OF AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT FROM THE CIVIL WAR TO THE WORLD WAR.** By Edward R. Lewis. Macmillan Co., N. Y., 1937, pp. 561. Price \$5.

A realistic approach to the subject. Draws from a wealth of concrete sources to show that political theories grow out of human conditions and are remolded continuously by economic, social and cultural forces. Its important bearing upon current problems is seen in chapters on the power of the courts over legislation, opposition to the political power of the courts, the nature and source of law, the theory of political action, conservatism and socialistic thought, nationalism and state rights, the struggle for political control, and the tests of political action, —the economic test, the happiness test, the survival test, the pragmatic test. The author concludes that no one test is sufficient, but that all tests must be used. This volume clearly and powerfully presents the clash and interaction of ideas out of which our present situation has grown. A readable book for the layman as well as a book of deep insight for the student of constitutional history.

---

**THE DAILY NEWSPAPER IN AMERICA: THE EVOLUTION OF A SOCIAL INSTRUMENT.** By Alfred McC. Lee. Macmillan, N. Y., 1937, pp. 797. Price \$3.50.

An historical manual of American journalism. Takes the large view. Handles the subject "without gloves." Ought to be required reading for all who use newspapers seriously.

---

**GREAT INDIAN CHIEFS.** By Albert Britt. McGraw-Hill, N. Y. and London, 1938, pp. 280. Price \$2.50.

Subtitle: "A Study of Indian Leaders in the Two Hundred Year Struggle to Stop the White Advance." Here is King Philip who shook the power of the Puritans; Joseph Brant the Iroquois; Pontiac the Ottawa empire-dreamer; Tecumseh the Shawnee who fought against the Americans in the War of 1812; Black Hawk the Sauk; Sitting Bull the Sioux who destroyed Custer at the Little Big Horn; Captain Jack, Chief of the Modocs, who with fifty men defended his hunting grounds for four months against a thousand troops backed by artillery, and then was hanged; Captain Joseph, the Nez Percé. The author has selected significant episodes from their lives revealing character and

explaining their aims, hopes and fears. Contains an admirable introductory essay. Tone of the book is sympathetic, but frequently critical. A fascinating story of the Indian's hopeless struggle against fate.

---

**MINNESOTA: ITS HISTORY AND ITS PEOPLE. A STUDY OUTLINE WITH TOPICS AND REFERENCES.** By Theodore C. Blegen, with the assistance of Lewis Beeson. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1937, pp. 530.

A model of scholarly workmanship. Suggestive for all teachers working in the field of state history. Each of 53 subjects is followed by "Questions and Suggestions" to be resolved by students from references cited. Contains 13 maps, and a brief but meaty sketch of the entire history of Minnesota.